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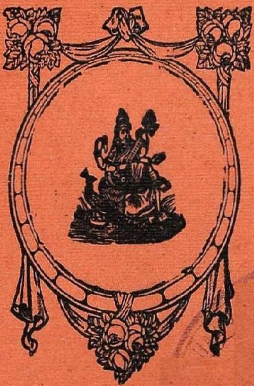

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"SVADOṢA-PARADOṢA-VIT"*

BY

R. NARAYANA AIYAR, I.C.S., (RETD.).

I thank the Committee of the Samskṛta Academy for the honour they have done me in asking me to inaugurate the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Rāmāyaṇa Lecture with a paper in English. The Lectureship is a very fitting memorial to Sastriar who had a deep love and reverence for our national epic—he was a man of one book as he used often to say—and in particular to his Lectures on the Rāmāyaṇa embodying as they do the results of a profound and life-long study of Vālmīki. They were the last, not least, of his great services to his countrymen, and it is very appropriate that the Samskṛta Academy under whose auspices they were delivered should encourage Rāmāyaṇa scholarship and research by instituting this annual Lectureship in memory of his services to the Academy. But how the learned Academicians came to pitch upon me for inaugurating the series is more than I can tell. I can only suppose that they proceeded on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, the principle of discordant etymology or explanation by contraries. A grove in Latin is called *lucus* from *lucere*, to shine, meaning a place resplendent with light, because it does *not* shine there! Similarly, I am asked to deliver this first address in remembrance of Sastriar's Lectures because I have *not* heard any of them! And while many of you knew Sastriar intimately, my contacts with him were few and brief, and I mostly worshipped him from a distance. However, by the courtesy of the Committee, I have had the privilege of *reading* the whole set of Lectures and perusing Sastriar's own notes of authorities cited, and I should like to say what a deep impression the Lectures make on a reader. I know of only two other series of Lectures delivered in Madras which Sastriar's can be compared with, Dr. Miller's Lectures on Shakespeare—what we used to call criticism lessons, and Professor Rangacharya's discourses on the Gītā. The mere

* The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Rāmāyaṇa Endowment Lecture delivered at the Vālmīki Day celebrations of the Madras Academy on 30th March, 1947.

labour involved in preparing the Lectures, illustrated by hundreds of verses from Vālmīki, and the concentration bestowed, are prodigious, and can be appreciated only by the learned.

विद्वानेव हि जानाति विद्वज्जनपरिश्रमम् ।

When we remember that week in week out Sastriar was at it for seven months, we may well marvel at the achievement at his age of such a well-rounded series of character studies in the Rāmāyaṇa. Sastriar wrote and spoke English as to the manner born. He was a master of English prose and no mean Sanskrit scholar, as his beautiful translations of long and difficult, melodious and moving passages in Vālmīki testify. His gifts of selection and presentation, and of apt phrasing which rose to his lips without effort, were unique. He tells you that he hardly expects to carry you with him in what he says, and then you find yourself carried along by the sheer weight and persuasiveness of his talk. Criticism for the time is disarmed—

कस्य नाराध्यते चित्तमुद्यतासेररेरपि ।

IV. iii. 34.

'Would charm the spirit of a foe
Whose sword is raised for mortal blow.' (Griffith)

Above all, the Lectures are charged with a high moral fervour. Sastriar delighted in posing ethical problems, and he never let slip an opening in his exposition of the Poet to drive moral lessons home. His large and varied experience and his profound wisdom invest these with an authority all its own, and I venture to think that the ethical and moral teaching in the Lectures will be found to be not the least of the elements of permanent value in the book. Having read the typescript from end to end, may I say a word in praise of the stenographers* whose labour of love has preserved the spoken word for us intact? You will all join with me in congratulating the Academy on its decision to publish the Lectures, and in hoping that the Committee may be enabled to bring out the book soon, if possible before the anniversary of this Lectureship comes round.

For my paper this evening the Committee kindly let me choose my own subject, and I thought I could not do better

* Sri V. Duraiswami, B.A., in particular.—Eds.

than attempt an illustration of one of the myriad and manifold virtues of Rāma अनन्तकल्याणगुणाः—which has been in my mind for a long time. The virtue I refer to is "स्वदोषपरदोषवित्" occurring in the opening sarga of Ayodhyākāṇḍa, verse 24. The meaning of the phrase is that Rāma had a knowledge of his own as well as of others' failings, that is to say, that no one was more aware than Rāma of his own faults. In illustration of this rarest of human virtues, Govindarāja cites Rāma's words to Vibhīṣaṇa about Bharata's entreaty at Citrakūṭa

शिरसा याचतो यस्य वचनं न कृतं मया ।

VI. cxxiv. 19.

Rāma was acutely conscious of his failure to grant Bharata's prayer that he, Rāma, should return to Ayodhyā. I do not know that this could be accounted a 'doṣa' in Rāma, but doubtless the commentator cites it because Rāma himself mentions it. I wish to draw attention to a 'doṣa' which lies at the very threshold of the Rāmāyaṇa history and which for that reason is apt to be overlooked. For a proper appreciation of it, it is necessary to exhibit it in its setting at some length. But before I do so, let me seek your indulgence and ask you to look upon any views I advance not as propositions put forward dogmatically, but in the light of doubts and difficulties formulated for your consideration.

When Daśaratha was old and full of days, he having previously conferred with his ministers made up his mind to crown Rāma heir to the throne. He convoked the brāhmans and the princes and nobles of the realm and the commonalty and put the proposition to them. They said, in the words of the Campū—

देवे स्थितेऽपि तनयं तव रामभद्रं
लोकः स्वयं भजतु नाम किमत्र चित्रम् ।
चन्द्रं विना तदुपलम्भनहेतुभूतं
क्षीरोदमाश्रयति किं तृषितश्चकोरः ॥

ii. 6.

By the acclamation of the people Rāma was formally designated his father's coadjutor. The king announced—

चैत्रः श्रीमानयं मासः पुण्यः पुष्पितकाननः ।

and charged Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva to take order for the coronation,

यौवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवोपकल्प्यताम् ॥

II. iii. 4.

The two purohits there and then issued commands to Sumantra and the great officers of state to get everything ready for the great ceremony to take place on the following morning, and reported that the arrangements were complete. The 'pariṣad' was still in session, and the king summoned Rāma to attend at it. When he came, the king solemnly proclaimed that he was to be crowned heir to the throne on the morrow when the moon would be in auspicious conjunction with the asterism of Puṣya. He delivered to Rāma a charge such as Kaśyapa might have given to Devendra, or David to Solomon. Many considerations, he said, marked Rāma out for the succession, but the chiefest that weighed with him was that by the graces of his own character the Prince had found favour in the sight of his people. The pith and marrow of his 'putrānuśāsana'*, paternal precepts, was that he who would rule a kingdom must first rule his senses; he must root out the congenital vices that desire breeds, the evil passions that anger begets.

कामक्रोधसमुत्थानि त्यजेथा व्यसनानि च ।

II. iii. 43.

That the Poet meant a deep significance to be attached to this particular precept so solemnly inculcated in the mind of Rāma by his father at the outset is clear from the words which he puts into the mouth of Maṇḍodarī at the close of the story—

सोऽयं राक्षसमुख्यानां विनाशः पर्युपस्थितः ।
कामक्रोधसमुत्थेन व्यसनेन प्रसङ्गिना ॥

VI. cxiv. 72.

Rāvaṇa's downfall involving that of his whole race is traceable to the fact that he had never received such instruction from *his* elders, or, if he had, it had gone in at one ear and out at the other. To proceed with Daśaratha's charge.

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* For 'putrānuśāsana' cf. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, I.5.17—
" तस्मात् पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुस्तस्मादेनमनुशासति " ।

Modesty that was innate in Rāma would grace him even more in his exalted station—

"महीपतीनां विनयो हि भूषणम्" ।

Rāma saluted the king and made his way home through cheering crowds. The king dissolved the assembly, and the people went home, not as you might suppose to make a night of it but to propitiate the gods

Cf. सर्वान्देवान्नमस्यन्ति रामस्यार्थे यशस्विनः ।

II. ii. 53.

Straight from the hall of assembly hastened a batch of Rāma's friends to impart the glad tidings to Kausalyā, who honoured them with 'pūrnapātra'. The king held another brief consultation with his ministers, fixed the hour for the auspicious event on the morrow, and settled the 'pūrvāṅga', preliminaries, to be gone through that day.

Having dismissed the ministers, he retired within doors, but not to seek repose. The old king seemed possessed by some restless energy. Forthwith he summoned Rāma again to his presence. Both Sumantra who carried the cryptic message that Rāma was wanted and the Prince himself were a little mystified. However, as father and son were closeted together, it became obvious to Rāma that his father had something to say which was of an intimate and confidential nature, not all of which was fit for the ears of the assembly. The customary precepts delivered by the king in public related to how Rāma should conduct himself in his office as protector of the people. There remained the injunction as to how he should prepare himself spiritually for the consecration. The purohit would presently be despatched to assist Rāma with the preliminary rites, but it was in the fitness of things that Rāma should receive the injunction from his father's own lips. In company with Sītā, Rāma was to keep vigil, resting on a couch of sacred grass, and observe a fast. But there was something more important which was for Rāma's ears alone, hence the urgent summons to him to wait upon the king in private. Daśaratha had latterly been weighed down with many a care over the question of nominating his successor, but he mostly kept his own counsel about them. Evil portents in the sky and on earth that appeared to him troubled him, and he confided to his ministers that he was afraid of them. To the people at large he did not adduce this dread of impending death as a reason for recom-

mending Rāma to their choice; he simply said that he had borne the yoke—a one-holed yoke as we may term it—too long and that it was time he shifted part of the burden of state to younger shoulders,

Cf. "तामेकतस्तव बिभर्ति गुरुर्विनिद्रस्तस्या भवानपरधुर्यपदावलम्बी" ॥
Raghuvamśa, v. 66.

Now on the eve of the coronation Daśaratha took Rāma more or less completely into his confidence—I say more or less for a reason which will appear farther on. After referring to his own great age and the people's ardent desire to see Rama crowned, the king disclosed to Rāma that he had been visited with evil dreams in which he heard thunder from a blue sky and saw flaming meteors crash through space. We may note in passing that the dread visions he mentioned to his ministers were thus not "real" but conjured up by a disordered imagination and are probably to be regarded as "subjective". But "unreal" as they were they left the poor old king in a terrible state of mind. The astrologers of the court, in addition, as he told Rāma, had apprised him of a malefic conjunction of the planets with his natal star—a fact of course which the king's ministers could not have been unaware of. He confided to Rāma his fears that the ominous signs which had appeared to him in visions and the courses of the planets presaged his own death or other dire disaster. It was imperative therefore that Rāma should receive his anointment before anything should occur to change the king's mind. Then there was something else which oppressed his mind and which he had probably not revealed to his ministers. He confessed to Rāma that he would be relieved in mind if he crowned him yuvarāja while Bharata still tarried at Rājagṛha with his uncle and his grandfather. Bharata to be sure was absolutely straight and was a staunch adherent of Rāma, but he was human after all and might conceivably change his mind, and the king would rather that the installation which he had resolved upon should take place on the very morrow. Rāma must accordingly along with Sītā enter upon his 'upavāsa', fast, forthwith, while his friends provided a vigilant guard for them in their nocturnal devotions. For, as the Poet with a touch of his dramatic irony makes the king add, "many's the hitch that gets in the way of such auspicious undertakings," as if any human agency could unravel the knots in which he was tying himself up even then. Rāma listened in

silence to all that his father imparted to him in confidence, made obeisance to him, and went home to perform his bidding.

He did not find Sītā at home. Lakṣmaṇa not being at hand, we may suppose that he himself warned his sarvādhikārin, chamberlain, of the fast that had been ordained for him and for Sītā, and of the body-guard that would need to be on all-night duty reinforced by a band of trusty friends. But he did not tarry a minute as he was eager to carry the great news to his mother. Hastening to Kausalyā's apartments he saw that pious lady in devout meditation in the chapel royal. Sumitrā and Lakṣmaṇa were in attendance on her, and Sītā was present too having been fetched thither by his mother's wish. No doubt Rāma was expected there every minute, and they were all agog to see him. Rāma prostrated before his mother and told her that his father had called him to the yauvarājya office with which he was to be invested on the morrow, and that he had further upon the advice of the priests and brāhmans enjoined on him a fast that Sītā had to observe along with him on the eve of his consecration. With humble duty he asked his mother to set about doing whatever she accounted propitious for him and for Sītā in anticipation of the solemnity. Kausalyā saw in her husband's gracious act the fruition of all the severe austerities she had practised over a long period of time. Her heart was suffused with happiness, and she pronounced fervent blessings upon Rāma. "May you live long," she said, "may your enemies bite the dust, may you gladden my people and Sumitrā's here!" With his instinctive gift of doing the right thing at the right moment Rāma turned with a smile to Lakṣmaṇa and said: "Did you hear my mother's words? Her benediction embraces you as well. This great prosperity that is coming to me I do not regard as mine alone; you are my second self and you shall share it with me; my life and this regal power I value for your sake." Having uttered these sentiments of the tenderest affection and the deepest import calculated to warm the cockles of Sumitrā's heart, Rāma saluted both mothers, obtained leave to take Sītā with him and went home with her.

इत्युक्त्वा लक्ष्मणं रामो मातरावभिवाद्य च ।
अभ्यनुज्ञाप्य सीतां च जगाम स्वं निवेशनम् ॥

II. iv. 45

Kausalyā, as we learn from Mantharā later, busied herself, as desired by Rāma, with distributing largess to the people, with the aid of her almoners.

Meanwhile the king called Vasiṣṭha and asked him to go to Rāma and inaugurate the fast of the prince and princess with due rites. It was too high a duty to be delegated to one of lesser rank, so the great preceptor went himself. He drove in state to Rāma's mansion and started the upavāsa to the accompaniment of sacred texts. Not till he returned and reported that he had carried out the royal command did the king dismiss his entourage and retire into the inner apartments. He had had a strenuous day, but he was evidently anxious to ensure that no lapse occurred in any article of the plan he had formed.

After the purohit left Rāma spent a little time in the company of his friends, and when they had taken leave he along with Sītā offered worship to the Supreme Being, complete in every part including the pouring of oblations into the fire and nivedana, and they spent the night in fast and meditation, everything being carried out in strict accord with the purohit's instructions. Rising from the couch of sacred grass in the last watch of the night, the royal couple performed their ablutions and Rāma offered his morning prayers. With the chanting of 'svastipuṇyāhavācana' by the brāhmans the preliminaries ordained by the king came to a close and Rāma's spiritual preparation for the consecration was complete.

विमलक्षौमसंवीतो वाचयामास च द्विजान् ।
तेषां पुण्याहघोषोऽथ गंभीरमधुरस्तदा ।
अयोध्यां पूरयामास तूर्यघोषानुनादितः ॥

II. vi. 7, 8.

Familiar to you as this story is, I have recounted it circumstantially to call attention to two points which have an important bearing on what I am about to say. The king is the moving spirit in the whole proceedings. Unlike Sugrīva who left everything to his ministers and failed to keep an eye on them—

मन्त्रिषु न्यस्तकार्यं च मन्त्रिणामनवेक्षकम् ।

IV. xxix. 5.

he held the reins firmly in his own hands, and it is only in the next scene when he is with Kaikeyī that he lets them slip out of

his nerveless hands and she picks them up. Rāma plays but a passive part, acting only in deference to his father. That is a point to keep in mind. The other is that the Poet's narrative of these events in the first six sargas of Ayodhyākāṇḍa is one of swift action. The king first consults the ministers, immediately convokes the assembly, summons Rāma to it there and then, publicly delivers his putrānuśāsana to him, dismisses the assembly, and at once sends for Rāma again, this time privately, lets him into his confidence touching the urgency of the matter, and orders him to get along with the pūrvāṅga. Rāma goes to his mother, receives her blessings, and takes Sītā along with him for the upavāsa to be observed by them both. Vasiṣṭha arrives at once, starts the upavāsa, and reports to the king. The divya-dampatis lose no time in beginning their ārādhana of the family deity, and at the close of it they observe the fast as ordained. The pūrvāṅga is finished without impediment of any sort, and the stage is set for Mantharā's entry. Without any unnecessary divagation, pausing here and there only to describe the people's manifestation of their joy, which is a part of his programme, the Poet takes us rapidly from step to step and lets us hardly suspect, much less detect, any defect in the order of the day. We usually take things in the Rāmāyaṇa for granted; at best we make but a cursory examination. We assume for instance that where Daśaratha and Vasiṣṭha had the ordering of affairs nothing could possibly have gone amiss. And yet if we subject the proceedings to a close analysis, we shall find a grave lacuna, what I venture to submit is a weak spot in Rāma's preparation for the momentous event. When he left Kausalyā's house after receiving her blessings and Sumitrā's, he went straight home with Sītā to begin the upavāsa instead of going to Kaikeyī's apartments also, paying his duty to her, and obtaining *her* 'anugraha', blessings, no less indispensable to him than his own mother's and Sumitrā's before he took the pūrvāṅga vows.

It may be that to this suggestion that Rāma was in fault in omitting a duty to Kaikeyī some may react by ejaculating, as a learned Bhāgavata once did to me, 'Fie on that widow!' That of course derives from the traditional prejudice against Kaikeyī, but it is not a helpful approach at any time to the problems presented by the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki himself does not mince his words about Kaikeyī, he does not hesitate to call her 'anāryā', the most opprobrious epithet in his vocabulary.

But the ignobleness of her conduct did not blind Rāma to what was due to her. Feelings are a bad guide. For a juster view grounded on the Poet himself and a more enlightened guidance in appreciating this point, I should like to refer you to a passage in Sastriar's Lectures. Enlarging on the śloka

तं मातरो बाष्पगृहीतकण्ठ्यो दुःखेन नामन्त्रयितुं हि शेकुः ।
स त्वेव मातॄरभिवाद्य सर्वा रुदन्कुटीं स्वां प्रविवेश रामः ॥

II. cxii. 31,

which he was rather fond of and quotes more than once, he says: "At the end of the talk between Bharata and Sri Rāma in Citrakūṭa, when Rāma had stood firm in his resolve to carry out his father's orders, the three mothers, Kaikeyī included, were unable to say good-bye to him. They were so overcome with grief that the words stuck in their throats. No more was he able to say a word. He merely cried and went into the 'parṇakuṭī', but not without having made praṇāmams to them all. "The commentator", Sastriar goes on to say, "asks us to note the plural सर्वा मातॄः and says "अनेन कैकेय्या दोषराहित्यं सूचितम् ।" (that is, this indicates that Kaikeyī stood exculpated). This goes too far", Sastriar points out," for Rāma is so exalted a character that even if a little stain had remained in Kaikeyī's case, he would not have omitted the duty of making praṇāmams to her. She was his mother like the others. He never forgot the duty he owed to her. He never would have withheld from her the marks of reverence that he showed to Kausalyā and to Sumitrā. There is no doubt about it." Whether, if the omission I make bold here to allege against Rāma were present to Sastriar's mind, he would have made a positive assertion of this character and in such emphatic and unqualified terms, I will leave you to judge when I have set out my points. But there can be no disagreement with his statement that Rāma would not be Rāma if he treated Kaikeyī as aught but his mother. That is axiomatic. According to the dharmaśāstra, the stepmother is one of one's five mothers, and ranks only next to one's own mother.

माता सपत्नीमाता च ज्येष्ठभार्या पितृष्वसा ।
गुरुपत्नी तथैवैताः मातरः पञ्चधा स्मृताः ॥

Apart from this śāstraic relationship, there was a very special and entirely unique bond of relationship between Rāma and his stepmothers Sumitrā and Kaikeyī. Not only were

they as dharmapatnis distinguished from the three hundred and fifty iṣṭapatnīs of his father, but they were the partakers along with his mother of the divine 'pāyasa', and an 'amśa', part, of Viṣṇu of whom Rāma was but a moiety was carried by each of them in her womb for the full period of his own gestation, twelve lunar months. You remember for instance how Lakṣmaṇa at a critical mement when he was struck down by Rāvaṇa with a blow from Brahma's śakti recalled to his mind the 'viṣṇorbhāga' in him. (VI. lix. 111). As the chosen vehicles of the divine incarnation the three queens whom the Poet compares to Hrī, Śrī, and Kīrti, were so to speak a unity in multeity—

तस्य भार्यासु तिसृषु ह्रीश्रीकीर्त्युपमासु च ।
विष्णो पुत्रत्वमागच्छ कृत्वात्मानं चतुर्विधम् ॥

I. xv. 21,

though this truth is obscured for us by the squabbles of jealousy between the senior queen and the favourite. And in their death they were not divided, for theirs, as I shall have occasion to point out farther on, was a case of anumaraṇa. Sumitrā and Kaikeyī were therefore Rāma's mothers not only in the śāstraic but in an altogether exceptional sense.

Look at the matter again in this light. Suppose Kaikeyī by invitation of Kausalyā had been present along with Sumitrā in Kausalyā's house when Rāma went to see his mother, he would have done obeisance to her as the Poet expressly says he did to Sumitrā. It would have been a graceful gesture on the elder queen's part to have so invited her. We must not suppose that she had not so much 'lālitya'; the constraint put upon her by the coldness of the king is answerable for it. But the fact that Kaikeyī was not present at the time made no difference so far as Rāma's duty to her was concerned. He was well aware that Kaikeyī would not visit his mother on any account any more than Kausalyā would think of showing herself in her rival's company. We see them together only when Rāma comes with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa to take leave of the king and the latter summons all his wives to be in attendance. Kaikeyī we meet in Kausalyā's house only when the breath had left the king's body and she turned up with all the other women for a last look at him before he was deposited in the boat of oil. This 'tillai muvāyirattār' in fact came together only on mournful occasions. Manifestly, then, it was Rāma's duty to

have waited upon Kaikeyī and received her blessings for a prosperous outcome of his solemn fast.

Discord there had always existed between her and his mother, but Rāma had never let their mutual antipathy affect him in his filial love for Kaikeyī; his relations with her had always been cordial. And be it said to the credit of Kausalyā that for her part she never felt resentment at it. What did Kaikeyī herself say to Mantharā?

यथा मे भरतो मान्यस्तथा भूयोऽपि राघवः ।
कौसल्यातोऽतिरिक्तं च स तु शुश्रूषते हि माम् ॥

II. viii. 18.

'If my own son is dear to me let me tell you that Rāma is even dearer: Most duteous is Rāma to Kausalyā, but do you know, he is more dutiful to me than to his own mother.' What is the secret of this frank and open testimony borne by Kaikeyī? Bharata had been carried off by his uncle to Rājagṛha within a few months of his marriage. We can imagine what it must have been for the mother to be separated from her only son for a matter of ten or eleven years. Kausalyā had Rāma to comfort her, and Sumitrā had Lakṣmaṇa, but Kaikeyī had not Bharata by her side to minister to her or bestow her affection on. Rāma felt for her with his quick sympathy, and true to his name, रमयतीति रामः, delighted her by his filial devotion,

"His little nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love,"

and filled the aching void of the mother's heart. Astute Mantharā saw that Rāma had all but supplanted Bharata in her mistress's affections. While therefore she fomented Kaikeyī's feelings of jealousy towards Kausalyā, she thought that that by itself would be of little avail to make her turn against Rāma, and began to instil slow poison into her mind against Rāma himself holding him up to her as her sons's सहजरिपु, born enemy (II. viii. 35).

Rāma for his part—did he suspect any evil intent in Kaikeyī? Here are his words to Lakṣmaṇa—

कैकेय्याः प्रतिपत्तिर्हि कथं स्यान्मम पीडने ।
यदि भावो न दैवोऽयं कृतान्तविहितो भवेत् ॥
जानासि हि यथा सौम्य न मातृषु ममान्तरम् ।
भूतपूर्वं विशेषो वा तस्या मयि सुतेऽपि वा ॥

II. xxii. 16, 17.

"You imagine that Kaikeyī is animated by some fell purpose against me and has destined me to this pain and suffering. What possible ill will can she cherish against me when on my part I have always shown her the same love and reverence that I have shown to my mother and yours, and she on her part has treated me with the same affection that she bears her own son? Her change of heart towards me can only be ascribed to the workings of Fate."

Far from harbouring any distrust of Kaikeyī, Rāma actually believed that she would promote his interest. He knew that the king who did not think it worth troubling himself about even to communicate to Kausalyā his resolve to crown her son would make Kaikeyī his confidant. Did not Daśaratha himself say to his favourite—

न मया सत्कृता देवी सत्कारार्हा कृते तव ।

II. xii. 70.

"For your sake I neglected her who in every way deserved consideration and kindly treatment from me, and now I repent like a sick man who had gorged himself on unwholesome dainties"—

अपथ्यव्यञ्जनोपेतं भुक्तमन्नमिवातुरम् ।

II. xii. 71.

When on the morning of the fateful day Rāma was in readiness for the coronation Sumantra was announced. He came in beaming with joy—हर्षेण महता वृतः—because Kaikeyī had bidden him with an auspicious greeting fetch Rāma without delay—

तद्गच्छ त्वरितं सूत राजपुत्रं यशस्विनम् ।
राममानय भद्रं ते नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
स मन्यमाणः कल्याणं हृदयेन ननन्द च ।

II. xiv. 63, 65.

He hailed Rāma with Viśvāmitra's famous greeting, कौसल्यासुप्रजा राम !, and told him that his father wished to see him along with Kaikeyī. Rāma was overjoyed—

एवमुक्तस्तु संहृष्टो नरसिंहो महाद्युतिः ।

II. xvi. 13 ff.

He hardly suspected that there was a surprise in store for him. He turned to Sītā and said: "Here is Sumantra come straight from Kaikeyī's house with a message from father,

What do you think? To be sure, he and my mother—जननी चार्थकामा मे—have been in close consultation touching my coronation. Having learnt my father's purpose to crown me at once, she wishes to gratify him. Ever intent on my good she is happy that I am to be crowned. She is accordingly urging him on as the prosperous hour is drawing nigh. It is of happy augury that my father is with his beloved queen just now—महिष्या प्रियया सह—and that he has sent my friend Sumantra to me on this charge. That a minister like Sumantra who enjoys their confidence should bear the message shows what important and intimate counsel my father and mother have been holding together; there is no doubt that the king is going to crown me yuvarāja at once."

यादृशी परिषत्तत्र तादृशो दूत आगतः ।
ध्रुवमद्यैव मां राजा यौवराज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥

II. xvi. 19.

Now, that being Rāma's belief about the ardour of Kaikeyī's good will towards him—and there is not the slightest reason to question its sincerity,—should he not have shown the reverence that was due to her before he entered on his upavāsa?

I would draw your attention to Rāma's expression महिष्या प्रियया सह (II. xvi. 18). There is repeated testimony in the Rāmāyaṇa to the respect which Rāma showed to his father's numerous queen consorts. In the wail they set up at his departure for the forest with its refrain क नु गच्छति, 'whither goes he, the righteous soul?', they recalled that he looked up to each one of them as to his own mother—

कौसल्यायां महातेजा यथा मातरि वर्तते ।
तथा यो वर्ततेऽस्मासु महात्मा क नु गच्छति ॥

II. xli. 4.

Sītā used words to the same effect to Anasūyā, adding with playful humour,

सकृद्दृष्टास्वपि स्त्रीषु नृपेण नृपवत्सलः ।
मातृवद्वर्तते वीरो मानमुत्सृज्य धर्मवित् ॥

II. cxviii. 6.

" Were the king to cast but a single amorous glance upon any of those ladies, that was enough for my husband; he

treated her as his own mother and became her devoted slave, casting pride and self-love aside, so great was his love for his father, and so keen his sense of filial duty." 'Dharmavit' in this context connotes what the Latin word 'pietas' meant, *viz.*, dutiful affectionate conduct towards parents. Obviously then, all other considerations apart, Rāma could not have dreamt of a discourtesy to his father's favourite queen. This fact, as I shall show later, may give us a clue to his conduct in the present instance.

Even after his cruel disillusionment regarding Kaikeyī's purpose in sending for him, when we might be disposed to overlook a lapse in him, Rāma did not omit his filial duty to her. Describing the shock experienced by him, the Poet says that when Rāma in his elation stepped into the august presence, he caught sight of the monarch's agonized face and shuddered as if he had trodden on a serpent—

रामोऽपि भयमापन्नः पदा स्पृष्ट्वेव पन्नगम् ।

II. xviii. 4.

a simile which he puts with great effect into the mouth of Kausalyā later—

राघवे नरशार्दूले विषमुप्त्वा विजिह्मताम् ।
विचरिष्यति कैकेयी निर्मुक्तेव हि पन्नगी ॥

II. xliii. 2.

When Rāma heard the decree of banishment from Kaikeyī he received it with the utmost submission, uttering only this gentle remonstrance—

न नूनं मयि कैकेयि किंचिदाशंससे गुणम् ।
यद्राजानमवोचस्त्वं ममेश्वरतरा सती ॥

II. xix. 24.

"You seem hardly to allow that I possess any virtue. You know that I am yours to bid in anything you choose, you are my complete mistress; and yet you asked my father as a favour to lay this command on me. Am I so void of truth and magnanimity?" The king broke down utterly. Loth to prolong the torment—चिरं दुःखस्य पापिष्ठम् is a favourite saying of his (II. xl. 48; II. i. 5)—Rāma rushed out, but not without touching the feet of the unconscious king and, to the Poet's great indignation, Kaikeyī's—he calls her अनार्या—and circumambulating them both.

When Sumantra had driven the exiles to the Ganges and was sent back to Ayodhyā, Rāma gave him a message to deliver, going into considerable detail, and charging him in particular to convey his respectful inquiries to his mother and to the other royal ladies, making special mention of Kaikeyī—

एवमुक्त्वा तु राजानं मातरं च सुमन्त्र मे ।
अन्याश्च देवीः सहिताः कैकेयीं च पुनः पुनः ॥

II. lii. 30.

When Bharata appeared at the Delectable Mount, Rāma who did not know yet that the queen mothers had accompanied him made inquiry of the welfare of every one from the king downwards in due order and succession, कच्चित्प्रश्न, he hoped that the noble queen Kaikeyī was glad at heart—

....कच्चिदार्या च देवी नन्दति कैकयी ।

II. c. 11.

The hope thus expressed bore reference to the realisation of her own hopes, but it is hardly necessary to say that in Rāma's mouth and addressed to Bharata it was an utterance of unfeigned good will as he was incapable of malice or simulation. Noteworthy however is the epithet आर्या which the Poet who had stigmatised her as अनार्या deliberately puts into Rāma's mouth here: as the commentator points out, आर्येति स्वमातुरपि बहुमानोक्तिः—the term signifies that Rāma held Kaikeyī in higher esteem if that was possible than he held his own mother.

A little farther on the Poet describes the affecting meeting between Rāma and all the widowed queen mothers and says that he touched the feet of them all in obeisance—

तासां रामः समुत्थाय जग्राह चरणाञ्शुभान् ।
मातॄणां मनुजव्याघ्रः सर्वासां सत्यसङ्गरः ॥

II. ciii. 18.

In the extract I read from Sastriar's Lectures the obeisance that Rāma made to Kaikeyī along with the other queens at the conclusion of the pact of Citrakūṭa between the brothers has been referred to. But I may draw attention to a striking expression that Rāma uses about Kaikeyī at the very opening of his argument with Bharata.

यावत्पितरि धर्मज्ञे गौरवं लोकसत्कृतम् ।
तावद्धर्मभृतां श्रेष्ठ जनन्यामपि गौरवम् ॥
एताभ्यां धर्मशीलाभ्यां वनं गच्छेति राघव ।
मातापितृभ्यामुक्तोऽहं कथमन्यत्समाचरे ॥

II. civ. 21, 22.

"Our mother," he points out to Bharata, "is entitled to the same respect and obedience from us as our father who is honoured by the whole world. When they, *both of them righteous*, order me to go to the forest, how can I transgress their command?" He re-enforced this when, scouting Bharata's proposal that he should deputise for Rāma in Daṇḍaka, he declared with finality that *Kaikeyī had spoken right** and that their father had acted right.

उपधिर्न मया कार्यो वनवासे जुगुप्सितः ।
युक्तमुक्तं च कैकेय्या पित्रा मे सुकृतं कृतम् ॥

II. cxi. 29.

It was the high design of the gods that their earthly instrument, Kaikeyī, should lie under a curse till their purpose had been fulfilled, and it behoved them when Rāvaṇa and his evil works had been destroyed to lift the curse from her. They accordingly brought Daśaratha on the scene, and, promptly, Rāma made intercession with his father on behalf of Kaikeyī and Bharata and obtained a revocation of the dread curse that the king had uttered fourteen years before.

Presently when Vibhīṣana pressed Rāma to stay a day or two with him as his guest, Rāma begged to be excused, and said, "I yearn to see Bharata, and Kausalyā, and Sumitrā, and illustrious Kaikeyī—कैकेयीं च यशस्विनीम्" (VI. cxxiv. 20), 'yaśasvinī' having an added signification as used by Rāma now, by reason of the signal favour shown to her by the gods, which he deemed it his prime duty to communicate to her.

It was the same to the end of the chapter. Rāma's respect for Kaikeyī never abated. Centuries rolled by and Rāma was old. His illustrious mother died, and Sumitrā and illustrious Kaikeyī followed her—

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* Cf. कृताञ्जलिस्तत्र यदम्ब सत्यान्नाभ्रश्यत स्वर्गफलाद्गुरुर्नः ।
ताच्चिन्त्यमानं सुकृतं तवेति जहार लज्जां भरतस्य मातुः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, XIV. 16.

अन्वियाय सुमित्रा च कैकेयी च यशस्विनी ।

VII. xcix. 16,

their anumaraṇa bringing home to us how the three mothers are a unity in multeity. The Poet says that Rāma at due seasons offered 'mahādāna', grants of agrahāras, gifts of milch kine, and so forth, to brāhmans in honour of all three mothers without distinction—

तासां रामो महादानं काले काले प्रयच्छति ।
मातॄणामविशेषेण ब्राह्मणेषु तपस्विषु ॥

VII. xcix. 18.

In the light of these proofs of Rāma's dutifulness to Kaikeyī, it is to say the least of it remarkable that on the eve of his coronation as heir to the throne he omitted to go and pay his respects to her. The coronation was not a mere fête though the people observed it as a gala day. It possessed a profound religious significance. Rāma was solemnly to dedicate himself to the service of the people, and the importance of his spiritual preparation for it is emphasized by the Poet in the king's putrānuśāsana, in Rāma's mātṛvandana, and particularly in the upavāsa observed by both the prince and princess on the eve of it. That is a religious ceremony of prime importance prescribed by Bodhāyana in his Rājābhiṣekavidhi, and as we saw it was personally inaugurated by Vasiṣṭha. It was incumbent upon Rāma to have the anugraha of elders before entering upon it. We do not neglect to offer pūrṇaphala to our elders however insignificant they may be and solicit their blessings before beginning auspicious religious rites. There is a small but interesting point which I may notice in this connection. When Viśvāmitra bore Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa away to guard his sacrifice, they were sent with a benediction—

आशिषं प्रयुयुजे न वाहिनीं सा हि रक्षणविधौ तयोः क्षमा ।

as Kālidāsa puts it (Raghuvaṁśa, xi. 6). Now our texts read

कृतस्वस्त्ययनं मात्रा पित्रा दशरथेन च ।

I. xxii. 2,

that is to say, that the benediction was pronounced by the mother, *i.e.*, Kausalyā, and by the father. Kausalyā's benediction was enough for Lakṣmaṇa also, but there is a variant reading, *viz.*,

कृतस्वस्त्ययनं मात्रा कैकेय्या च सुमित्रया ।

that is to say, that not only Kauṣalyā but Kaikeyī and Sumitrā gave the benediction to the two princes. When Śatrughna issued forth, अग्रजेन प्रयुक्ताशीः (Raghuvaṁśa, xv. 8), for the conquest of Lavaṇa, we read—

कौसल्यां च सुमित्रां च कैकेयीं चाभ्यवादयत् ।

(VII. lxiv. 15),

he respectfully saluted the three mothers. It is my submission that Rāma should have sought Kaikeyī's blessings in the same way as he obtained Kausalyā's and Sumitrā's and that he was in fault in omitting his duty to her.

It may be temerity in one to ascribe a fault to Rāma, but it is not necessarily impiety to speak of a 'doṣa' in connection with him. The very description of his unique virtue—स्वदोषपरदोषवित्—implies that Rāma as a man born with human limitations was not devoid of faults. "He is all fault who hath no fault at all," says Tennyson. There is a beautiful sentiment of Lakṣmaṇa which goes to support such a view. When Sugrīva offered his apology to Lakṣmaṇa with that famous phrase न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति—there's no one who does no wrong (IV. xxxvi. 11), Lakṣmaṇa said:

दोषज्ञः सति सामर्थ्ये कोऽन्यो भाषितुमर्हति ।
वर्जयित्वा मम ज्येष्ठं त्वां च वानरसत्तम ॥

IV. xxxvi. 17.

"True it is that there is no one who has not done some wrong or other, but O lord of monkeys, barring Rāma I know of no one but you who can see the wrong done by him and not only see it but handsomely own to having done wrong." Tilaka following Tīrtha takes दोषज्ञ in the Amarakośa sense, विद्वान्विपश्चिद्दोषज्ञः ।, a wise man. Better I think and more appropriate to the context is Govindarāja's interpretation दोषज्ञः स्वदोषज्ञः with an illuminating comment.

लोके हि समर्थः पुरुषः स्वदोषमपह्नुते न तु प्रकाशयति न तथा त्वमिति भावः ।

We may also call to mind in this connection a saying of Śrī Śaṅkara's in the Sūtrabhāṣya (4. 3. कार्याधिकरणम्, सू० 14)

" सुनिपुणानामपि सूक्ष्मापराधदर्शनात् " ।

'for we observe that even the most perfect men commit faults, however minute.'

You may perhaps ask, what signifies it all, this सूक्ष्मापराध, this mighty trifle of a fault in Rāma? Did Kaikeyī take offence? Did she banish Rāma to the forest because he did not make praṇāmams to her? No! That would be a bizarre way for the Poet to employ this circumstance in the development of his plot. In omitting Rāma's duty to Kaikeyī he has a covert import which he leaves us to infer from his story. To be short, he keeps Rāma out of Kaikeyī's chamber in order to let Mantharā in! Let me explain. We will suppose that Rāma when he emerged from Kausalyā's house stepped into Kaikeyī's apartments before crossing the five outer courts of the palace, in order to render her the reverence that by rights she was entitled to, we can visualize the scene without any violent effort of imagination. Rāma would salute Kaikeyī and tell her that his father had fixed his coronation for the morrow and had ordered him to observe an upavāsa that night along with Sītā. Kaikeyī would express her exceeding joy that the king had decided to crown Rāma yuvarāja, and would probably tell him how pleased she felt that like the dutiful son he was he had come to give the glad news to her himself, *cf.* her words to Mantharā—

इदं तु मन्थरे मह्यमाख्यासि परमं प्रियम् ।
एतन्मे प्रियमाख्यातुः किं वा भूयः करोमि ते ॥
रामे वा भरते वाऽहं विशेषं नोपलक्षये ।
तस्मात्तुष्टाऽस्मि यद्राजा रामं राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥

II. vii. 34, 35.

She would give him her blessings, and would tell him that she had no doubt that he would protect his brothers and the retainers of the palace as his father had been protecting them, *cf.* her words to Mantharā again—

भ्रातॄन्भृत्यांश्च दीर्घायुः पितृवत्पालयिष्यति ।
राज्यं यदि हि रामस्य भरतस्यापि तत्तथा ।
मन्यते हि यथात्मानं तथा भ्रातॄंस्तु राघवः ॥

II. viii. 15, 19.

Speaking of Bharata she might well add how she wished that her son was there to hold the white unmbrella over Rāma's head on the morrow. Rāma would make answer in some such

words as he used to Lakṣmaṇa touching his attachment to his brothers: "Mother, I seek righteousness, wealth, and pleasure, and kingdom only for the sake of my dear brothers, for their prosperity and happiness. If ever my heart should prove traitor to Bharata or Lakṣmaṇa or Śatrughna, and I should seek any joy for myself alone deprived of them, may such bliss be turned to ashes!" *Cf*. II. xcvii, 5, 6, 8.

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च पृथिवीं चापि लक्ष्मण ।
इच्छामि भवतामर्थे एतत्प्रतिशृणोमि ते ॥
भ्रातॄणां सङ्ग्रहार्थं च सुखार्थं चापि लक्ष्मण ।
राज्यमप्यहमिच्छामि सत्येनायुधमालभे ॥
यद्विना भरतं त्वां च शत्रुघ्नं चापि मानद ।
भवेन्मम सुखं किञ्चिद्भस्म तत्कुरुतां शिखी ॥

He would make obeisance to Kaikeyī and he would go home to observe his vows with her blessings. The seal of her approval would have been set upon the king's plan for the coronation to take place at once in Bharata's absence without need of any effort on the king's part to persuade Kaikeyī to accept it.

On this supposition what would happen when Mantharā came in, if she ever did? She would find herself forestalled. Instead of her calling her royal mistress a fool not to bestir herself to stop Rāma's coronation, Kaikeyī would tell her that Rāma had already received her blessing, that there could be no revoking it, and that the woman was crazy to want to meddle in such a great matter, and she would send the jñātidāsī about her business. Completely baffled by Kaikeyī's resolution Mantharā would retire in disgrace. Instead of being idolized as she was, she would sink back into the obscurity from which she should never have emerged, and the sinister shadow of her hump would not have fallen across the pages of the Rāmayaṇa.

Mantharā would not have got a chance to work her wicked will upon Kaikeyī if Rāma had acquitted himself of his duty to the queen. That is the significance of Rāma's 'doṣa'. In other words, had there been no lapse on Rāma's part in this respect, his coronation need have suffered no collapse. *But*— the Rāmāyaṇa would have closed with that chapter!

How shall we explain this omission of duty on the part of Rāma? Here we are in the realm of conjecture. In one who was so punctilious as Rāma was in the observance of forms, it

cannot be attributed to inadvertency or carelessness or indifference to the claims of duty. Any intention in him to ignore Kaikeyī must be ruled out. As I said any discourtesy to Kaikeyī would be a gross offence to his father. Rāma's minute transgression towards her in the present instance evidently had the tacit sanction of his father. The fact is that after the private audience at which Daśaratha took Rāma into his confidence, Rāma no longer felt himself a free agent in this matter. Daśaratha when he brought in Bharata in his talk and spoke with concern about his desire to instal Rāma as yuvarāja while Bharata who had gone to Rājagṛha some ten years before was still away, expressing his apprehension that Bharata might have changed and might not be the same loyal younger brother that he formerly was, gave Rāma a broad hint of the trouble which he seemed vaguely to suspect might arise from him and Kaikeyī. I fancy besides that at this interview the king for the first time confided to Rāma that when he wedded Kaikeyī he had promised the succession to her progeny. Not that the Poet says so either here or on the occasion when Rāma reveals it to Bharata in open assembly at Citrakūṭa, *after* the king's death,

पुरा भ्रातः पिता नस्स मातरं ते समुद्वहन् ।
मातामहे समाश्रौषीद्राज्यशुल्कमनुत्तमम् ॥

II. cvii. 3.

And I am aware that Govindarāja opines that Rāma learnt of this secret clause in the marriage treaty 'from Sumantra and others'. It is a moot question in the Rāmāyaṇa and demands as it deserves more comprehensive treatment than I should attempt in this context. I will make only one observation. Sumantra was a venerable repository of the arcana of the Ikṣvāku House; he was a muniment room in himself; but he kept the sacred mysteries locked away in his breast. He did not reveal the ancient prophecies of Sanatkumāra to Daśaratha till after the king announced his resolve to celebrate the great horse-sacrifice (I. ix, x, xi). The occult mysteries of the incarnation and the later life ot Rāma which he had heard from the lips of Durvāsas, he divulged for the first time, after the banishment of Sītā, and to Lakṣmaṇa alone, under seal of silence (VII. 1, li); he says that till that moment he had kept them locked up in his breast, श्रुतं हृदि च निक्षिप्तं (VII. li.33). But even if Rāma was not let into the secret of

the rājyaśulka by his father, he had heard enough from the king to conclude that Bharata though a younger son seemed to have some vague claim to the succession of which his mother might press for recognition. As I said already, the king held the reins in his firm grasp in this business, and Rāma was a silent listener and played a passive part. But इङ्गितज्ञा हि कोसला: From the line of his father's talk and the trend of his suspicions, from the eager trepidation of his manner and his nervous dread of a hitch as of one who saw some obstacle lurking round the corner, Rāma correctly judged that his father's idea was that he would tackle the 'Rooṭā Rāṇee' (testy queen) in his own way and prevail on her to forgo any opposition that she might offer. If he, Rāma, went to his step-mother to pay his duty now, and if she said something untoward, that might upset the apple-cart. In other words, he found himself face to face with a conflict of duties, and as Prof. Rangacharya observes, one who feels a conflict of duties is morally superior to one who is indifferent to the claims of duty. When in this doubtful frame of mind Rāma went to his mother, she told him that Sumitrā and herself hoped for great things from him for their kinsfolk, rather pointedly excluding Kaikeyī. There might be nothing in his mother's ignoring her, but things did not look very promising for his visit to Kaikeyī. The conflict of duties in his mind, dharma-saṅkaṭa, was resolved: 'पितुश्छन्दानुवर्तिन्' as he was, (II. liii. 10; cxviii. 51), he would not do anything that might jeopardize his father's plans; he would leave Kaikeyī severely alone for the present.

To conclude, I do not mean to suggest, it would be grotesque to suggest, that the great revolution which drove the heir designate into exile was the result of a little lapse of filial duty on the part of Rāma. From trifling occasions, says Aristotle, may arise revolutions, but the real causes of them are deep and the interests at stake great. Jeannie Geddes' hurling the stool at the head of Bishop Lindsay when he was reading the new liturgy in St. Giles', Edinburgh, was not the real cause of the overthrow of Episcopalianism in Scotland in the seventeenth century, but was only the occasion of it. Profound cosmic causes were at work in the banishment of Rāma to Daṇḍaka for the purpose of restoring the moral order of the universe which Rāvaṇa had upset, but what I have been trying to show is how a little fault in Rāma contributed to that result.

The immortal Poet who had his eye on the 'vanavāsa' needed that small occasion if the divine purpose which he was unfolding in his epic was not to be crossed at the outset. His supreme artistry will be evident if we contrast his studied omission on the one hand of Rāma's duty to Kaikeyī and of her blessings on the eve of the coronation with his scrupulous if passing mention of these details on the other hand in relation to the vanavāsa. Kaikeyī sending for Rāma to receive his sentence of exile gives the command to Sumantra with a 'mangalāśāsana' on her lips राममानय भद्रं ते. Rāma receiving the sentence from her lips prostrates at her feet and reverently circumambulates her,

वन्दित्वा चरणौ रामो विसंज्ञस्य पितुस्तदा ।
कैकेय्याश्चाप्यनार्याया निष्पपात महाद्युतिः ॥
स रामः पितरं कृत्वा कैकेयीं च प्रदक्षिणम् ।
निष्क्रम्यान्तःपुरात्तस्मात्स्वं ददर्श सुहृज्जनम् ॥

II. xix. 28, 29.

If I am not over-refining, I think the Poet meant subtly to suggest that there was here no neglect of homage due, no पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रम to bar the fulfilment of Rāma's vanavāsa vow.

वनवासे महोदयः ! Blessed in every sense was Rāma's sojourn in the forest, in the issue. The ineffable glory of it was the passing of the Kosala kingdom under the sway of the divine sandals, the like of which had not been heard of in human annals before, nor has been known since. It was in the regime of Śrī Pādukā that the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa was enacted, from Virādha to Rāvaṇa, eclipsing the glories of Daśaratha's reign that preceded it and surpassing the splendour even of Rāmarājya that followed it.

WESTERN CHALUKYA AND CHOLA CONFLICT IN VENGI: GONKA II.[1]

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, Ootacamund.

The following Telugu verse occurs in an inscription from Nādeṇḍla, Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur District, dated Śaka 1062 (A.D.1140) in the reign of the Velanāṭi Chōḍa king Goṅka II (*c.* 1132—1160 A.D.)

> *Dhara Siddhi Bēta Chīṟpuli*
> *Hariṇa mṛigēndruḍu baḍigolārjunuḍājin|*
> *Śrīvatsa Lakshma Gōvinda*
> *Girivaravajramu jagajjigīshuḍu pērmin||*
> [*S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 675, text, ll.27-9]

The verse relates to the Velanāṭi Chōḍa king and is descriptive of his prowess. It says that Goṅka II was 'the lion to the deer Siddhi, Bēta and Chīṟpuli and the thunderbolt to the best of mountains Śrīvatsa, Lakshma and Gōvinda. There can be little doubt that the verse puts, as though in a nut-shell, the main achievements of Goṅka II. As many as six opponents overcome by him are grouped here in two sets, Siddhi, Bēta and Chīṟpuli forming one and Śrīvatsa, Lakshma and Gōvinda forming the other. The object of the present paper is to discuss when and under what circumstances Goṅka II came into conflict with them and who they were.

It is well-known that the Velanāṭi Chōḍas were the foremost among the noble families of Vēṅgī to come into prominence soon after that country came under imperial Chōḷa sway on the accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070 A.D). Owing to the wide extent of territory comprising two kingdoms, which Kulōttuṅga I was called upon to defend, a new technique of imperial defence had to be adopted by him. This was the policy of harnessing the local nobility into his local

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1. This article draws much of its material from the excellent contributions on the history of the period by (1) Prof. Nilakanta Sastri—*Goṅka II and Chāḷukyas* (Tirupati Orient. Conf.) ; (2) Dr. N. V. Ramanayya : *Bhārati*, Volume XXII, part 1, pp. 168 ff. (3) Mr. M.S. Sarma: *Bhārati*, Volume XXI, part ii, pp. 86 ff.

service for the defence and administration of the territory by granting parts of the very territory as fiefdoms to them. In the Vēṅgī country the policy was adopted with rigour and thoroughness since that region had been for some time past the bone of contention between the Chōḷas and the Western Chāḷukyas. The Velanāḍu chiefs were one of these nobility who were at first granted a small fief, the *sindhu-yugmāntaradēśa*, *i.e.*, the region between the rivers, Kṛishṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā in the Guntur District.[1] The region being called Velanāḍu from times of old, the Chōḷa chiefs who were made masters of it acquired the name of Valanāṭi Chōḍas, with their capital at Tsandavōlu, Repalle taluk. As reward for loyal service, their fiefdom was gradually enlarged by the grant of more and more extensive territory, like the 1300 District, the Velanāḍu 6000 District, the 6300 District, till finally the whole of Vēṅgī 16000 country was betowed upon them by Kulōttuṅga I. The rapid rise of the Velanāḍu Chōḍas shows the confidence and trust which Kulōttuṅga bestowed upon them, reciprocated by efficient and loyal service on their part. The Chōḷa monarch even adopted the Velanāḍu chief Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra Chōḍaya I (c. 1107-1132 A.D) as his own son.[2] Likewise Kulōttuṅga I raised another family to feudal status with the same political objective. They were the Koṇḍa-paḍumaṭi chiefs of Nādeṇḍla,[3] among whom Eladāyasiṁha *alias* Aniyaṅka-Bhīma showed his mettle in the Kaliṅga wars of Kulōttuṅga I by securing victory together with a large booty of elephants to his Chōḷa master.[4] The title, *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-divya-śrīpāda-padmārādhaka* donned by

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1. Hultzsch took the two rivers to be the Gōdāvarī and Kṛishṇā. The dominion of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas, however, lay always south of the Kṛishṇā and so the second of the two rivers must be different from the Gōdāvarī and it was evidently the Tuṅgabhadrā in the Guntur District, to the east of which Velanāḍu lay as stated in inscriptions. (*Tuṅgabhadrā-taraṅgiṇyāḥ prāk-dēśam Velanāḍ-iti*).

2. *A.R.E.* No. 277 of 1905; *A.R.E.*, 1936, pt. II, para. 31, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 32 ff.

3. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 672. Vol. VI, No. 240; *E.I.*, Vol. VI, p. 148. The villages of Enmadala (Guntur taluk), Mēḍikoṇḍūru, Sattenapalle, Narnepāḍu (Sattenapalle taluk) are stated in inscriptions to be in Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi country.

4. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 662, text. ll. 23-29.

the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs indicates the measure of the devotion with which they served their Chōḷa overlord. The Parichchhēdins of Ōṅgērumārga (Guntur District) were still another family to swear allegiance to Kulōttuṅga I. Their titles, *Chōḍakaṭaka-vajraprākāra* and *Vēṅgī-chāḷukyarājya-mūlastaṁbha* specify their role as the guardians of the frontiers of the Vēṅgī kingdom.[1] The Kōṭa chiefs of Amarāvatī, like the Parichchhēdins served as Chōḷa guardians of the Western frontiers of the Vēṅgī principality. It should, however, be noted that the Kōṭa chiefs originally owed their rise to the Western Chāḷukyas. Their Kannaḍa titles recording their achievements proclaim the earlier role they played as agents of Western Chāḷukya designs on Vēṅgī. Latterly, they were brought under Chōḷa hegemony by Kulōttuṅga I, whose trusted vassals they became. One of the scions of the family, Bhīma, is stated to have distinguished himself by capturing the Kaliṅga king and making him subordinate to the Chōḷa emperor sometime before A. D. 1108.[2]

With all these security measures taken by Kulōttuṅga I, the Western Chāḷukyas could, by no means, be forced to give up their set purpose to retake Vēṅgī, which they had overrun, prior to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. They posted their own vassals on the borders of Vēṅgī. Often and on they made inroads into the enemy country, sometimes through the agency of their vassals. One such inroad was made in 1097 A. D.[3] Their proteges were the Haihayas of Palnāḍu (capital at Māchерla), the Telugu Chōḍas of Kammanāḍu (capital at Koṇidena, Guntur District), the Kōna and the Bīragoṭṭam chiefs in North Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga. Thus the political alignment in the eastern sea-board of Āndhra at this period, *i.e.*, end of Kulōttuṅga's reign (c. 1118 A. D.) was one of a pattern of checks and balances between the feudatory chiefs who sometimes advanced the interests of their respective overlords, the Western Chāḷukyas and the Chōḷas. It was inevitable that they could not escape mutual conflicts in furtherance of their distinct loyalties. It is evidently one such conflict that finds mention in the verse quoted above, for it refers to the victories of the Velanāṭi

1. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 985, 1127; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 224, *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 59.
2. *Colas*, Vol. II, p. 38; *A.R.E.*, No. 567 of 1925.
3. *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 63.

Chōḍa prince Goṅka II against a number of opponents. We may review the events that led to this encounter.

During his last days, *i.e.*, sometime before A. D. 1118, Kulōttuṅga I found it necessary to recall his son, Vikrama Chōḷa from the Vēṅgī viceroyalty, perhaps to ensure the latter's peaceful succession.[1] The defence of Vēṅgī devolved upon the Velanāṭi Rājēndra Chōḍaya but as the events which immediately followed proved, the task was too much for him. The Western Chāḷukyas under Vikramāditya VI, who were only waiting for an opportunity of the kind, fell upon the country and overran it. This conquest is attested to by several inscriptions of which the earliest of date, December 19, 1118 A. D. is found at Kommūru (Guntur District) in which the Western Chāḷukya general Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka is described as ruling over Vēṅgī 14000.[2] The details of the conquest and of their victorious march to Kāñchī[3] as recorded in a number of other inscriptions, broadly indicate that the Western Chāḷukyas were supported by the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga,[4] the Kōna chiefs[5] and the Telugu Chōḍas while they were stoutly opposed on behalf of Kulōttuṅga by the Velanāḍu chiefs,[6] the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis,[7] the Parichchēdins of Guntur[8] and the Kōṭa chiefs of Amarāvatī. While Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka held the entire Vēṅgī 14000 under his charge, another Chāḷukya general Daṇḍanāyaka Vatsarāja encamped at Amarāvatī, the Kōṭa capital in or before 1129[9] A. D. That very adopted son of Kulōttuṅga I, Velanāṭi Rājēndra Chōḍaya

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1. *Colas*, Vol. II,p. 45.
2. *S.I.I.* Vol., IX, pt. 1, No. 196.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 220, text, ll. 114-5: No. 213.
4. *Colas*, II, p. 45.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1156, 1161 & 1317.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 213; *A.R.E.*, 1906, pt. ii, para 40.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 117. This record of A.D. 1118 contains the description of a battle that took place at Bezwada in which Sūra, a general of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Maṇḍa distinguished himself. If this had any connection with the Chāḷukya conquest of Vēṅgī, we may suppose that their invasion began by about this date.
8. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. ii, p. 812; *A.R.E*, 1919, pt. ii, para, 31 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 215, 216.
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol, VI, No. 217,

was obliged to acknowledge Western Chāḷukya overlordship to which effect we find him issuing an inscription dated A.D. 1120 in the reign of Vikramāditya VI.[1] The Telugu Chōḍas of Kammanāḍu were rewarded by the Western Chāḷukyas who made them the masters of Pākanāḍu 21000 country.[2]

The Chāḷukyan successes against the Chōḷas and their feudatories in Vēṅgī towards the close of Kulōttuṅga's reign however failed to secure for the Western Chāḷukyas permanent occupation of the country. The death of Vikramāditya VI in March 1126 A.D, hastened the end of their rule over Vēṅgī notwithstanding the fact that for a few years after his death, his armies of occupation, under able generals like Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka, continued to keep law and order in that country[3]. Even some of his devoted vassals, like the Kōna[4], the Palnāḍu-Haihaya[5] and the Bīragoṭṭam[6] chiefs continued to recognise Chāḷukya surzerainty till so late a date as 1135-6 A.D. The Velanāṭi Chōḍas, likewise, signified their vassalage to the Western Chāḷukyas by dating their records in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year[7], but their allegiance was only a make-believe. For, they were only waiting for an opportunity to put an end to the Chāḷukyan occupation and restore the rule of Vikrama Chōḷa. The Chōḷa king himself was making attempts to regain Vēṅgī soon after Vikramāditya VI's death. Within a year of the death of the Chāḷukya monarch, the armies of Vikrama Chōḷa entered Vēṅgī territory and were encamped at Chēbrōlu in Kammanāḍu in Śaka 1049 (1127- A.D.)[8]. But this invasion, however, was not quite successful, the Western Chāḷukya generals proving too strong to be easily

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1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No 1228.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 651, text ll. 37-9; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 132[illegible].

3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 213 (June 1126 A.D.) ; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 811 (August 1127 A.D.); *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No. 217 (December 1129 A.D.) ; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 1309 (1131 A.D.) No. 1217 (1132 A.D.) ; *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 68 (1135 A.D.).

4. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV' Nos. 1158 (1132 A.D.), 1253 (1132 A.D.), 1156 (1135 AD) 1080 (1136 A.D.).

5. *A.R.E.*, No. 596 of 1909 (1129 A.D.).

6. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 1220.

7. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 1228 ; Vol. VI, No. 193 (1131 A.D).

8. *A.R.E.* No. 153 of 1897 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 223 and 227.

dislodged from their positions in Vēṅgī. They repulsed the Chōḷa invasion and continued to hold the country for a few years more as their inscriptions show. Even as late as April 1131 A,D.[1] the Velanāṭi Chōḍa king Rājēndra Chōḍa continued to acknowledge Western Chāḷukya suzerainty. The submission of the Velanāḍu chief was just formed and in reality deceptive. Accompanied by his son Goṅka II and generals, he had only in the previous year (1129-30 A.D.) gone to Kāḷahasti in the Chōḷa kingdom, sworn allegiance to Vikrama Chōḷa and made gifts to the God of Kāḷahasti[2] evidently praying for success to his plans to rid his country of the enemy. Accordingly in the very next year, *i.e.*, 1131-32 A.D. Velanāṭi Rājēndra Chōḍa and Goṅka II gathered allies and mustering strength delivered such a powerful attack on the Chāḷukya armies that the Chāḷukyan generals Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanātha and Gōvinda Daṇḍanātha retired north beyond the river Gōdāvarī, on the banks of which again a pitched battle was fought in the very presence of the Chāḷukya king Bhūlōkamalla. The result of the battle was a resounding victory for the Velanāḍu chief. The details of several engagements connected wiih this campaign which culminated in the Gōdāvarī battle are available from more than one record[3] which say that he 'defeated Gōvinda Daṇḍādhipa along with Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanātha' and 'destroyed the army of the Gauḍa (and ?) Kuntala kings (*krīḍālōḍita-Gauḍa-Kuntala-kubhṛit-sēnārṇṇavaḥ*). It will be easily seen that the verse we have quoted at the beginning of this article refers just to this battle since it names the identical Chāḷukyan generals Lakshmaṇa and Gōvinda as also Śrīvatsa, *i.e.*, Vatsarāja Daṇḍanātha. That these events must have taken place between 1131 and 1133 A.D. is clear from the fact that in the former year the Velanāḍu chief, Chōḍaya, was still a subordinate of the Western Chāḷukya while on the latter date his son is found

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1. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, no. 193.

2. *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 20: *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI, pt. ii p. 86.

3. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 675, 804 and 1141; *ARE*. No. 441 of 1915. Report for 1916, part ii, para 48. See also Prof. K.A.N. Sastri, *Goṅka II and the Chāḷukyas*, pp. 419-22 in Proc. Tenth (Tirupati) Oriental Conf. (1940).

figuring independently in a record at Nādeṇḍla and claiming the aforementioned victory over the Chāḷukya.[1]

In addition to the Chāḷukyan generals, Goṅka II is stated to have put to flight Siddhi, Bēta and Chīṟpuli, From the concerned passage in the verse it may be doubted whether by 'Siddhi-Bēta-Chīṟpuli' was meant Bēta-Chīṟpuli, son of Siddhi or Siddhi, Bēta and Chīṟpuli. The latter alternative seems to be meant since in the verse these three names are evidently intended to pair with the three names of the Chāḷukyan generals, Vatsa, Lakshma and Gōvinda. Moreover, these very persons are mentioned separately in a record of a contemporary Kōṭa chief, Doḍḍa Bhīma (c. 1145 A.D.), who, likewise, claims to have destroyed them, as also one more chief, Mallachōḍa.[2] Their identity may now be determined. Siddhi, by the nature of his very name, can be identified as the Telugu Chōḍa Siddhi, who mas ruling Rēnāḍu about this period (A.D. 1124) as Tribhuvanamalla's subordinate[3] and who may therefore be expected to have taken part in the Chāḷukyan engagements in Vēṅgī. Regarding Bēta, one may likewise take him to be a Telugu Chōḍa prince, for the name was so common among them, and there lived a prince of this name just about this period ruling at Pottapi.[4] But he cannot be the ruler defeated by the Velanāḍu chiefs since he had already become a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa and hence an ally of the Velanāḍu chiefs. Bēta, the adversary of the Velanāḍu and the Kōṭa chiefs, was apparently the Haihaya chief, Doraya-Bēta who was ruling in the Palnāḍu region as a Western Chāḷukya subordinate at about this date.[5] The third adversary, Chīṟpuli remains a shadowy figure. He might be one of the contemporary Telugu Pallava chiefs, who with the nucleus of their possessions around Proddaṭūru (Cuddapah District) gradually extended into Udayagiri taluk, Nellore District[6] and among whom, a

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1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 804.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 249. The Kōṭa chief bears the titles *Chīḍpuli-vadhūmaṅgalasūtraharaṇa*, *yuriya* (Doraya ?) *Bētamattamātaṅgasiṅgha*, *Siddhi-Chōḍa mṛigaśārdūla*, *Mallachōḍa-mastakaśūla*.

3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 207 :

4. *A.R.E.*, No. 583 of 1907.

5. *A.R.E.* No 596 of 1909.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 85.

later member, Chiddana Mahārāja (c. 1182 A.D.) had the surname of Chīḍpuli.[1]

The victory secured by Velanāṭi Goṅka II over all these adversaries, *viz.*, the Chāḷukya generals and feudatories on or about 1132 A.D. had some important local results which changed the political set-up in the Telugu country, south of the Kṛishṇā.[2] The hegemony of the Imperial Chōḷas was again established over the region; we find their inscriptions in the area from A.D. 1135 onwards.[3] The Velanāṭi Chōḍas were enabled to establish their rule over a wider area including Pākanāḍu 21,000 as well, a task made easy by the expulsion of the Western Chāḷukyas from the region and the enfeeblement of their feudatories. There is ample evidence proceeding from inscriptional and literary sources testifying to their acquisition of this territory.[4] As reward for his great services to the Chōḷa empire in defeating the Chāḷukyas at the Gōdāvarī battle, the Chōḷa king himself bestowed upon Goṅka II the whole country from Kāḷahasti to the Mahēndra hill.[5] It was perhaps more in virtue of this authority that the Velanāḍu chief claimed suzerainty over Pākanāḍu 21,000, than by his actual conquest of it. With the advent of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas in Pākanāḍu, the Telugu Choḍas of Kammanāḍu (capital: Koṇidena) were obliged to throw in their lot with them, and

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1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 275. It was the defeat of this later Pallava Chief, Chīḍpuli Chiddana-Mahārāja at the hands of the Telugu Chōḍa Nallasiddhi I (c. 1160-1217 A.D.) that is commemorated in that famous Telugu ballad *Kāṭamarājuka-tha* or *Eṛragaḍḍapāṭipoṭlāṭa* (Mack. Ms. No. 13.5.25, pp. 236 ff.) and in a stone inscription at Guṇḍlapālem, Nellore District (*N.D.I.* Vol. II, Kandukur 26).

2. That the Gōdāvarī battle did not result in the expulsion of the W. Chāḷukyas from the whole of Vēṅgī is made clear by the presence of the Chāḷukyan records of later date in Vēṅgī territory, north of the Kṛishṇā if not to its south, *e.g.*, Bhūlōkamalla's record of A.D. 1135 at Bhīmavaram in the heart of Vēṇgī (*S.I.I.* Vol. V, Nos. 68 and 88).

3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 170.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181 and 184. In the *Kēyūrabāhuchari-tram* it is stated of Komma, minister of Goṅka II (c. 1132-1160 A.D.) that he ruled Pākanāḍu 21,000.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 51, v. 42; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1182, text, ll.12-13.

like them, accept Choḷa overlordship. In proof, we find Ballaya Chōḍa and Tribhuvanamalladeva·Chōḍa issuing records as subordinates of Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II.[1] One of these[2] is of particular interest testifying to the exercise by Tribhuvanamalladēva Chōḍa of joint authority with Velanāṭi Chōḍa Goṅka II under the aegis of the Chōḷa hegemony. Thus, by his brilliant victories Goṅka II changed the political map of the eastern sea-board of Āndhra from one of Chālukya suzerainty to that of Imperial Chōḷa lordship, which he helped to maintain throughout his career, from *c.* 1132 to 1160 A.D.

1. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, Nos. 170 and 635.
2. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No. 635.

JĀNĀŚRAYĪ CHANDOVICITI*

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Next to the two schools of Sanskrit prosody of Bharata and Piṅgala, the school of Janāśraya represented by his Chandoviciti is the most important. Bharata's treatment of metres in chs. XIV and XV of his Nāṭyaśāstra is, in a way, exhaustive regarding sama-vṛttas but meagre regarding viṣama-vṛttas, ardhasama-vṛttas and mātrā-vṛttas like āryā. His method is the least technical, though in a few verses he describes them by the gaṇas (*vide* Ch. XV. verses 118, 133, 135. 139, 141, N. S. Edition, 1894). He has also explained a few metres like dhruvā, which are exclusively to be used in dancing and other stage functions.

Piṅgala's work is more complete with regard to non-Vedic metres and has served as the model for many later authors including Janāśraya. He mentions several earlier writers on the subject, Kāśyapa, Saitava, Rāta and Māṇḍavya, of whom the first two are mentioned by Janāśraya also. Māṇḍavya and Piṅgala are found mentioned in Mahābhāṣya also. Jayakīrti (of the 11th century) in his Chandonuśāsana mentions Janāśraya (Ch. VIII. 19), Māṇḍavya, Piṅgala, Saitava and one Pūjyapāda.

AUTHOR

Janāśraya's Chandoviciti has six chapters. It is in the form of sūtras with a *vṛtti* thereon. From the introductory portion of the commentary—

स भूपतिरुदारधीर्जयति सम्पदेकाश्रयो
'जनाश्रय' इति श्रिया वहति नाम सार्थं विभुः ।
जिता विजितशत्रुणा जभति येन रुद्धा चिरं
मखैरुरुभिरद्भुतैर्मघवतो जयश्रीरपि ॥

अथातः छन्दोवृत्तजातीनां तत्त्वजिज्ञासवे शिष्याय पौराणिकीषु पिङ्गलादिछन्दोविचितिषु न्यूनातिरेकं परिहृत्य तद्दोषपरिहृतामिमाप्रपञ्चामनाकुलां जानाश्रयीं छन्दोविचितिं गणस्वामिविरचितव्याख्यां व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

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it can be said that the author of this work is a king of mighty intellect and of great affluence, who, as a benefactor of the people, got the name *Janāśraya* true to its letters, and who made many conquests and appeared to be superior even to God Indra, by his wonderful performance of many great sacrifices. The commentary further states that the work is superior to those of Piṅgala and others in the field, in that it is free from their defects like over-elaboration or over-brevity. The last portion quoted above says that the commentary is by Gaṇasvāmin (गणस्वामिविरचितव्याख्याम्). The word व्याख्यास्यामः can be interpreted only with some difficulty. Apparently it looks that a third man is writing the commentary on the basis of what Janāśraya and Gaṇasvāmin have written. The difficulty is to be solved by interpreting the word व्याख्यास्यामः as विशेषेण आख्यास्यामः वर्णयामः. It only means that Janāśraya's Chandoviciti is going to be interpreted with the commentary of Gaṇasvāmin. (Compare: अथातो दर्शपूर्णमासो व्याख्यास्यामः Āp. Śrautasūtra I. 1.)

This Janāśraya may be identified with king Mādhavavarman I of Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty (535-585 A.D.) who issued the Polamuru grant in the year of his accession 535 A.D. The following is an extract from the grant:

अतुलबलपराक्रमयशोदानविनयसम्पन्नो दशशतसकलधरणीतलनरपतिः अवसितविविधदिव्यस्त्रीवरनगरभवनगतपरमयुवतिजनविहरणरतिः अनन्यनृपतिसाधारणदानमानदयादमधृतिमतिक्षान्तिकान्तिशौर्यौदार्यगाम्भीर्यप्रभृत्यनेकगुणसम्प्रजनितरयसमुत्थित भूमण्डलव्यापिविपुलयशाः क्रतुसहस्रयाजी हिरण्यगर्भप्रसूतः एकादशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नानविगतजगदेनस्कः सर्वभूतपरिरक्षणचुञ्चुः विद्वद्द्विजगुरुवृद्धतपस्विजनाश्रयो महाराजा माधववर्मा ॥

(Polamuru plates edited by Subba Rao, JAHRS AI. 17ff) From this it can be learnt that Mādhavavarman might have got the surname Janāśraya for his great munificence and that he had performed many sacrifices, particularly the aśvamedha sacrifice eleven times. This Mādhavavarman is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess and ruled over the districts of Krishna and Godavari. (*Vide* D. C. Sircar: Epigraphic Notes II—Geneology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. IHQ. IX. 273-78; III—Chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, IHQ. IX. 956-66). M. Ramakrishna Kavi, however, identifies Janāśraya with Mādhavavarma II, who ruled between 585 and 615 A.D., in his paper on 'Janāśraya School of Sanskrit Prosody', in the

Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara, Vol. I No. 2, pp. 137 and 138. It is Mādhavavarman I, the greatest king in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty who is known from epigraphical records to have possessed the surname 'Janāśraya' and to have performed the aśvamedha sacrifice eleven times and therefore, in all probability, our author Janāśraya is none other than Mādhavavarma I and not Mādhavavarma II.

The identity of Gaṇasvāmin is a matter of idle speculation. One conjecture is that he might be a contemporary of Janāśraya patronised by the royal author. A few manuscripts preserved in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library of the commentaries on Vṛttaratnākara and a commentary on Śākuntala refer to both the Sūtras and the vṛttti as Janāśraya's work:

(1) यथाह जनाश्रयः—

द्व्येकैरूने विराण्निवृतौ । (I. 6) .....

वैदिकार्थोऽयमारम्भः । लौकिकं च विशेषितलक्षणमेव वृत्तं वा जातिर्वैवं भवति ॥

लौकिकविराड् यथा—

शूरः सुमुखः सदयः शान्तो धीरस्त्यागी गुणवान् भक्तः ।
विद्वान् विमदः कुलजोऽस्माकं नित्यं मित्रं भवतु श्लाघ्यम् ॥

लौकिकनिवृद् यथा—

अम्भोदानामसितानां श्रुत्वा शब्दं सन्ततबर्हः ।
अम्भोभारान्मन्दगतीनामुद्ग्रीवोऽयं रौति मयूरः ॥

स्वराड्भुरिजावधिके । (I.7)

लौकिकस्वराड् यथा—

अथ तत्र शुचौ लतागृहे कुसुमोद्गारिणि तौ निषीदतुः ।
मृदुभिर्मृदुमारुतेरितैरुपगूढाविव बालपल्लवैः ॥

लौकिकभुरिग् यथा—

मनोज्ञमपि सिन्दुवारतः कुन्दकुसुममग्र्यं च षट्पदः ।
न सर्पति तुषारशङ्कितश्चन्द्रालोकविशेषशीतलम् ॥

(Kavicintāmaṇi by Karuṇākaradāsa, T. U. M. L. Ms. No. 880. fol. 41).

(2) Another commentary Vṛttaprakāśikā by Kṛṣṇasāra *alias* Vedendrabhāratī refers to an illustrative verse as Janāśraya's:

एतामनङ्गक्रीडां शिखेति नामान्तरेणोदाजहार जनाश्रयः—

कादम्बानां पक्षोद्धूतैः पद्मैः कीर्णैराक्रोशद्भिः ।

सलिलमिदमसितपटनिभमतितनुशिखरसहितदति ! शरदिति कथयति ॥

(Ms. No. 804, fol. 20)

(3) Both Kavicintāmaṇi and Vṛttaprakāśikā quote a verse from the vṛtti as found in Jānāśrayī.

तदुक्तं जानाश्रय्याम् —

" अर्धेन मिश्राः षड् भेदाः पादेनाष्टौ द्वयोः क्रमात् ।

इन्द्रमालाविभागेन सर्वाः स्युस्ताश्चतुर्दश ॥"

इति ।

(Kavicintāmaṇi, *ibid.*, fol. 41, Vṛttaprakāśikā, *ibid.* fol. 23)

(4) Again, Kavicintāmaṇi refers to the sūtra and the vṛtti thereon as belonging to Janāśraya:

उक्तं जनाश्रयेण—

सार्षी । (V. 74)

सा तु गाथा आर्षीति ज्ञेया इति । अनुष्टुभादिजगत्यन्तछन्दोभवैव गाथा इति जनाश्रयः ।

(*ibid* fol. 95)

(5) Śākuntalacarcā, a commentary on Śākuntala, refers to the sūtra and the vṛtti as Janāśraya's :

तदुक्तं जानाश्रय्याम्—

पञ्चस्वनुष्टुभादिषु सा गाथा भवति ।

पदैश्चतुर्भिः षड्भिर्वा (V. 75)

सा गाथा चतुर्भिर्वा षड्भिर्वा पदैः सजातीयैर्विजातीयैर्वा भवतीति ।

(T.U.M.L. Ms. No. 305).

These references prove beyond doubt the identity of the sūtrakāra and the vṛttikāra. The term Gaṇasvāmin may be taken as another surname or title in the sense of 'Master of gaṇas' of the royal author, just like Janāśraya, for having followed a new technique with regard to gaṇas in his work.

A few illustrative verses given in the vṛtti which scholars were able to identify are from the poetic works of ancient authors like Bharata, Vararuci (the author of Ubhayābhisārikā), Śūdraka (the author of Padmaprābhṛta), Kāḷidāsa, Aśvaghoṣa, Sundarapāṇḍya (the author of Nītidviṣaṣṭikā), Bhāravi, Vikaṭanitambā and Kumāradāsa. The latest of these authors is Bhāravi who flourished about 550 A.D. and this fact also helps us to fix the date of our author about 550 to 585 A.D., the period of the reign of Mādhavavarman I of Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.

WORK

As observed above, the text of Janāśraya's Chandoviciti which consists of sūtras and a vṛtti in six chapters is now being published in the Journal of the Travancore University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum (Vols. III to V), though a portion of it had already appeared in print in *Tirumalai Sri Venkateswara*, Tirupati. The first chapter has 45 sūtras which as a general introduction to the work deals with the main technique adopted by this author to explain the several gaṇas. The first sūtra तत्र तावच्छन्दांसि षड्विंशतिः gives the total number of the varieties of chandas as twenty-six which are mentioned in the sūtras of later chapters when each metre is taken separately for explanation and illustration. (cf. तन्नामानि स्ववृत्तेषु I. 2). But the vṛtti gives them all under the second sūtra. The vṛtti contains the etymology of the word chandas as: अवद्यान्याश्चर्यतया छादयन्तीति छन्दांसि—those which hide the defects (in the language) in an amazing manner. The twenty-six metres are:

(1) उक्तम्,	(10) पङ्क्तिः,
(2) अत्युक्तम्,	(11) त्रिष्टुप्,
(3) मध्यमम्,	(12) जगती,
(4) प्रतिष्ठा,	(13) अतिजगती,
(5) सुप्रतिष्ठा,	(14) शक्वरी,
(6) गायत्री,	(15) अतिशक्वरी,
(7) उष्णिक्	(16) अष्टिः,
(8) अनुष्टुप्,	(17) अत्यष्टिः,
(9) बृहती,	(18) धृतिः,

(19)	अतिधृतिः,	(23)	विकृतिः,
(20)	कृतिः,	(24)	संकृतिः,
(21)	प्रकृतिः,	(25)	अभिकृतिः,
(22)	आकृतिः,	(26)	उत्कृतिः

Piṅgala gives these 26 metres, but in the reverse order. The arrangement of these 26 metres is so important that the first metre has four syllables and each succeeding one has four syllables more than the preceding metre. Thus ukta has four syllables, atyukta has eight and madhyama has twelve and so on. The last metre Utkṛti has, thus, got 104 syllables in total.[1] Any metre which possesses one syllable or two syllables less than the prescribed is known as nivṛt and virāṭ respectively and any one having one or two syllables in excess is called bhurik and svarāṭ respectively. (*Vide* sūtras 6 and 7 : द्व्यकैरूने त्रिराण्निवृतौ । स्वराड्भुरिजावधिके ।

Pāda is then explained as one-fourth of the whole ; the term akṣara as equivalent to a vowel or a syllable (a vowel with or without a consonant) ; the terms laghu and guru as vowels with one and two mātrās respectively. A vowel is guru when it is lengthened or when it is preceded by a conjunct consonant or an ayogavāha (visarga, jihvāmūlīya, upadhmānīya and anusvāra) and it is optionally guru while it is the final letter of a pāda. Then laghu and guru are known in this work by the symbols 'ha' and 'bha' respectively (while they are known in Piṅgala's work by the symbols 'ga' and 'la'). (*Vide* sūtras I. 8-17 and Piṅgala-sūtras गल् and गन्ते I. 9 and 10).

The following eighteen sūtras give the code of mnemonics which are peculiar to this work :

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1. vide sūtras I. 3-5:

चत्वार्याद्याक्षराणि । चतुश्चतुर्वृद्धिरन्येषाम् । उत्कृतेः ।

and the vṛtti on the last—

तस्याश्चतुश्शतान्यक्षराणि भवन्ति ।

(cf. Piṅgala's sūtra:

चतुश्शतमुत्कृतिः । चतुरश्चतुरस्त्यजेदुत्कृतेः । तान्यभिसंव्याप्तेभ्यः कृतिः

etc., Ch. IV, sūtras 1-3 and the following.)

(1)	गङ्गास् (--)—स्		(10)	धीवराश् (-।-)—ई, श्	
(2)	नदीज् (--)—ज्		(11)	कुरुतेल् (।। -)—उ, ल्	
(3)	चन्द्रप् (--)—प्		(12)	ते श्रीःक्वब् (--।)—ए, ब्	
(4)	ननुर् (।।)—र्		(13)	विभातिक् (।-।)—इ, क्	
(5)	नचरातिद् (।। ।।)—द्		(14)	सातवत् (-।।)—आ, त्	
(6)	कमलिनीय् (।।-)—य्		(15)	तरातेम् (।।।)—अ, म्	
(7)	जयनखरण् (।। ।।।)—ण्		(16)	लोलमालाष् (-।--)—ओ, ष्	
(8)	नूनंसाग् (---)—ऊ, ग्		(17)	धैर्यमस्तुतेट् (-।-।-)—ऐ, ट्	
(9)	कृशाङ्गीङ् (।--)– ऋ, ङ्		(18)	रौतिमयूरोञ् (-।।--)—औ, ञ्	

The final consonants of these sūtras are the symbols by which these gaṇas are to be known. The first vowels of the last eleven groups are also considered as additional symbols of those groups. This device of using the last consonant in the sūtras as the symbol of a gaṇa can be considered as a borrowing from Piṅgala who adopts the same method in the formation of the eight well-known gaṇas which are known by the last letters of his sūtras.[1]

Janāśraya's method, which he claims superior to Piṅgala's may be illustrated by the following verse attributed to Vikaṭanitambā by Vallabhadeva, as an example for the metre mandākrāntā under the sūtra

मन्दाक्रान्ता सेरुशो नीन् । (IV. 89.)

(गङ्गास्, ते श्रीः क्वब्, ननुर्, कुरुतेल्, धीवराश्, लोलमालाष्)

यथा--

स् ए ओ र् उ श् ओ

बाला । तन्वी मृ । दुरि । यमिति । त्यज्यता । मत्र शङ्का

दृष्टा नैव भ्रमर भरतो मञ्जरी भज्यमाना ।

1.	तेश्रीस्त्रीम् (‿‿‿)	वसुधास् (।।‿)
	वरासाय (।‿‿)	कदासज् (।‿।)
	कागुहार् (‿।‿)	किंवदभ् (‿।।)
	सातोक्वत् (‿‿।)	नहसन् (।।।)

तस्मादेषा रहसि भवता निर्दयं पीडनीया
मन्दाक्रान्ता विसृजति रसं नेक्षुयष्टिः समस्तम् ॥

The expression नीनू in the sūtra explains the yati —pause — in the fourth and the sixth syllables as represented by the vowels ई and ऊ [1]. Those which possess four laghus and five laghus are called gaṇas.[2] The yati or pause is generally found at the end of each pāda of every metre, but in jāti metres like āryā it is found in the second and fourth pādas regularly but at the end of the first and third pādas, there is no niyama—regularity.

The second, third and fourth chapters deal with vṛttas and the fifth treats of jāti. The vṛttas are of three kinds — viṣama-vṛtta, ardhasama-vṛtta and sama-vṛtta, and jātis contain sections of Vaitālīya, mātrā-samaka, āryā and other varieties excepting the three including the gāthā. In the second chapter which contains 28 sūtras, viṣama-vṛttas are explained. Viṣama-vṛttas are those which have unequal pādas. Ardha-sama-vṛttas which are dealt with in the third chapter containing 15 sūtras, are those which have two equal pādas, the first and third being alike and the second and fourth also being alike. Sama-vṛttas are those which have all pādas equal and they are treated in the fourth chapter containing 120 sūtras. The fifth chapter containing 75 sūtras explains jātis which are generally known as मात्रालक्षण.

On a close perusal of the work, one can learn that Janāśraya's treatment of the metres is more elaborate and complete than Piṅgala and Bharata, and there is a closer agreement between him and Piṅgala, though their techniques are different. To understand the technique of Janāśraya, a

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1. Compare sūtras: यतिः पदच्छेदः। जातिषु युजोऽवश्यम्। स्वरैः सनैः। द्विर्नान्तैः। (I. 40-44) स्वरैः सनैः (I. 43)—सा तु यतिः स्वरैः सनकारैः ग्रन्थेषु विधास्यमानेषु वक्ष्यते । तद्यथा—मन्दाक्रान्ता सेरुशो नीनू IV. 89.) तत्र चतुर्थस्वर ईकारो नकारेण सह नी इत्युक्तम्। षष्ठश्च ऊकारो नू इति । तत्र श्लोकोऽपि मन्दाक्रान्ताख्यः चतुर्थे षष्ठे चाक्षरे यतिर्भवति । उदाहरणम्—'कश्चित् कान्ताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारात् प्रमत्तः' इत्यादि ॥ द्विर्नान्तैः (I. 44)—सा तु यतिः सनकारान्तैः यत्रोच्यते तत्र द्विरुक्ता भवति । तद्यथा—नून् इत्युक्ते पञ्चमेऽक्षरे पुनश्च पञ्चमेऽक्षरे यतिभर्वति। एवं शेषेष्वपि ज्ञेयम् ॥

2. गणाश्चतुर्हाः। पञ्चहाश्च (I. 38, 39)

few representative metres may be explained here with illustrations:

Under viṣama-vṛttas Udgatā is defined as: उद्गता रीरिम्रै-तजुलिरै–नेन् (II. 6). It means that its first foot has +ई+र् +इ, that is, ननुर्, धीवराश्, ननुर्, विभातिक्; its second foot is म्+र्+ऐ i.e., तरतिम्, ननुर्, धैर्यमस्तुतट् its third foot is त्+अ+ज्+उ i.e., सातवत्, तरतिम्, नदीज्, कुरुतेल्; and its fourth foot is ळ+इ+र्+ऐ i.e., कुरुतेल्, विभातिक्, ननुर् धैर्यमस्तुतेट्. The symbol नेन् explains yati, i.e., ए represents the tenth vowel in the vowel-system and the pause takes place in the tenth syllable and the final न् indicates that the pause in the tenth syllable would be repeated. It is illustrated by a verse taken from Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya.

ळ इ ळ ङ्ग
अथ । वासव । स्य व । चनेन

म् र् ऐ
रुचिर । वद । नस्त्रिलोचनम् ।

त् अ ज् उ
क्कान्तर । हितम । भिरा । धयितुं

ल इ र् ऐ
विधिव । त्तपांसि । विद । धे धनञ्जयः ॥

In the former half the pause takes place at the tenth syllable.

(2) Vardhamāna is defined as: द्विस्तृतीयो वर्धमानम् (II. 1)

1st pāda: नूनंसाग्, कुरुतेल्, विभातिक्, रौतिमयूरोञ्.

2nd pāda: कुरुतेल्, तरतिम्, विभातिक्, लोलमालाष्.

3rd pāda: जयनखरण्, कुयुतेल्, जयनररवण्, कुरुतेल्.

4th pāda: तरातिम्, तरतिम्, नचरातिद्, रौतिममूरोञ्.

This is illustrated by a verse taken from Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda.

उद्वेगादपुनर्भवे मनः प्रणिधाय शयितवराङ्गनादनास्थः ।

निशि नृपतिनिलयनाद्वनगमनकृतमनाः सरस इव मथितनलिनात् कलहंसः ॥

(3) Among the ardhasama-vṛttas puṣpitāgrā is the most popular. It is defined as: पुष्पिताग्रा णीङ् दाश्ट (III. 11). It has the following gaṇas:

ण्, ई, ङ्, आ, श्, ऋ *i.e.*, जयनरवरण्, धीवराश्, कृशाङ्गीङ्, नचरतिद्, सातवत्, धीवराश् कृशाङ्गीङ्.

This is illustrated by the verse :

ण् ई ङ्
मृदुसुखपव । नेन वी । ज्यमाना
द् आ श् ऋ
शिथिलित । बन्धन । विप्रमु । क्तबन्धा ।
प्रविततितिमिरं समीक्ष्य कालं
कुलजवधूरिव मल्लिका जहास ॥

(4) Among the sama-vṛttas Bharata's illustration for puṭa-vṛtta is given by Janāśraya for his puṭa under Jagatī.

ण् ऊ ङ
उपवनसलि । लानां बा । लपद्मैः
भ्रमरमधुकराणां कण्ठनादैः ।
मदनमदविलासैश्चाङ्गनानां
जनयति चतुरत्वं पुष्पमासः ।

(Bharata, N.S. Edn. ch. XV. verse 80)

Puṭa is defined by Janāśraya by the sūtra पुटो णूङ् नॄ (IV. 51) It has the gaṇas ण्, ऊ, ङ् *i.e.* जयनरवरण्, नूनंसाग्, and कृशाङ्गीङ्. नॄ explains the yati—pause—in the eighth syllable as represented by ऋ which is the 8th in the vowel system.

(5) Upajāti which is called Indramālā by Janāśraya is illusrated by a few verses of Raghuvaṁśa and Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa and two verses from Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa. Indramālā or Upajāti is a combination of इन्द्रवज्र andउपेन्द्रवज्रा; इन्द्रवज्रा is defined as इन्द्रवज्रा बेजॄ (IV. 34). ब्+य+ज्+ऋ *ie* तं श्रीः कवन्, नदाज् *and* कृशाङ्गीङ्; उपेन्द्रवज्रा *is defined as* उपेन्द्रवज्र केजॄ (*IV*, 35) क्+ए+ज्+ऋ *i.e.* विभातिक्, तेश्रीःक्तब्, नदीज् and कृशाङ्गीङ्. In the example taken from Raghuvaṁśa, a combination of इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा is found.

क् ए ज् ऋ
अथ प्र । जानाम । धिपः । प्रभाते

ब् ए ज् ऋ

जाथाप्र । तिग्राहि । तग । न्धमाल्याम् ।

So also in the examples taken from Jānakīharaṇa.

1. इयत्पृथुत्वं कृशदेहयष्टे-
   र्नितम्बचक्रस्य परं प्रमाणम् ।
   इतीव बद्धा रशनागुणेन
   श्रोणी पुनर्वृद्धिनिषेधतोऽस्याः[1] ॥

2. आसीदियं चन्द्रमसो विशेष-
   स्त्वद्वक्त्रचन्द्रस्य च भासुरस्य ।
   बभार पूर्वः सकलङ्कमङ्गं
   तस्यैव नेत्रद्वितयं धरायाः ॥

(6) Vaṁśapatrapatita under atyaṣṭi is illustrated by a verse from Śūdraka's Padmaprābhṛtaka. It is defined as:

वंशपत्रपतितं तीमारु नू. i.e. त्+ई+म्+आ+र्+उ i.e. सातवत्, धीवराश्, सातवत्, ननुरू, कुरुतेल्.

त् ई म् आ रू उ

पुष्पस । मुज्ज्वलाः । कुरब । काः नद । ति प । रभृतः

कान्तमशोकपुष्पहसितं चलति किसलयः ।
चूतसुगन्धयश्च विपिने भ्रमररुतवहाः
सम्प्रति काननेषु सधनुर्विचरति मदनः ॥

(7) Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita under utkṛti is illustrated by a verse taken from Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā-bhāṇa. It is defined as:

भुजङ्गविजृम्भितं स्गूर्णुज्री नुनै (IV. 12).

स्+ग्+ऊ+र्+ण्+उ+ज्+रू+ई ie. गङ्गास्, नूतंसाग्, ननूनंसाग्, ननुर्, जयनरवरण्, कुरुतेल्, नदीज्, ननुर्, धीवराश्.

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1. A slightly different version of this verse is found in the printed text :

तथाहृतं तस्य तया पृथुत्वं
   यथा भवन्मध्यमतिक्षयिष्णु ।
इतीव वद्धा रशनागुणेन
   श्रोणी पुनर्वृद्धिनिषेधहेतोः ॥

कोऽसि त्वं मे का वाहं ते विसृज शठ मम निवसनं मुखं किमवेक्षसे
न व्यग्राहं जाने ही ही तव सुभग दशनवसनं प्रियादशनाङ्कितम् ।
या ते रुष्टा सा ते नाहं व्रज चपलहृदय निलयं प्रसादय कामिनी-
मित्येवं वः कन्दर्पार्त्ताः प्रणयकृतकलहकुपिता वदन्तु कुलस्त्रियः ॥

नृनै explains the yati in the first 8th and then in the 12th from the 9th syllable.

(8) Daṇḍaka is specially treated by Janāśraya and many more varieties are given with illustrations than in the work of Piṅgala. The illustrations given for अर्ण and प्लव under प्राचित deserve notice.

शरणमनलसूर्यवायुप्रतीघातनष्टार्जवं तर्षमाच्छेत्तुमन्नं
क्षुधं शौचमागं मल
वसनमपि शरीरकौपीनदोषप्रातिच्छादनार्थं गतिक्लेश-
नाशाय यानादयो विस्तराः ।
शिशिरशमनमुष्णमुष्णप्रणाशाय शीतो विधि-
र्गात्रविश्रान्तिहेतोश्च शय्यासनापाश्रयाः
पुरुषगुणमिमं परिज्ञातुमार्त्तैश्चिकित्सेयमारभ्यते
यत्र भोगार्थसंज्ञा नृणां जायते ॥

जलनिधिवसनापि भूर्यस्य तस्यैक एवाधिवासः पुरं
तत्र चैकं गृहं तद्गृहे चैक एवालयो
निवसनयुगमेकमेवात्मकौपीनशाव्यर्धमेकैव शाला
निवृत्तिप्रवृत्त्योस्तु तत्सर्वथा मुक्तभावः सुखम् ॥

These have close correspondence with the following verses in Buddhacarita.

कामास्तभोगा इति यन्मतं स्याद्भोग्या न केचित् परिगण्यमानाः ।
वस्त्रादयो द्रव्यगुणा हि लोके दुःखप्रतीकार इति प्रधार्याः ॥
यदा च जित्वापि महीं समग्रां वासाय दृष्टं पुनरुक्तमेव ।
तत्रापि चैकं भवनं निषेव्यं श्रमः परार्थे ननु राजभावः ॥

(Buddhacarita, XI. 36 and 47).

Hence it is supposed that these daṇḍakas might have been taken from Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṅkāra which is mentioned by Janāśraya as a kāvya containing good illustrations on the varieties of daṇḍaka. *cf.*

शेषाणामुदाहरणानि ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्नोदाहृतानि ।
तान्यपि काव्येषु सूत्रालङ्कारादिषु द्रष्टव्यानि ॥ (p. 69)

(9) Under āryā, pathyā which is very popular is illustrated by a verse taken from Sundarapāṇḍya's Nītidviṣaṣṭikā.

चारित्रनिर्मलजलः सत्पुरुषनदोऽक्षयो भवतु नित्यम् ।
यस्य विभवारविन्दे मित्रभ्रमराः कृतविहाराः ॥

The sixth chapter of this work containing 34 sūtras deals with prastāra, mathematical calculations for the number of vṛttas in each kind and the details of gaṇas of any particular vṛtta. They are indeed mathematical puzzles bearing on the principles of permutation. It has the following divisions—नष्टम्, उद्दिष्टम्, लघुपरीक्षा, संख्या and अध्वा.

Some of the metreṣ are associated with bhāvas. Bharata's dhruvā metres are dependent on laya or tāla consistent with the acting on the stage. The songs in dodhaka vṛtta are to be sung in ḍhakkā-rāga by the low-born and high-born characters in a fight or yoga (meditation). Tanumadhyā in harṣapañcama-rāga is to be sung by the low and middle characters, while śālinī is to be sung in Mālava-rāga by a heroine on the eve of her lover's return. Seasons are described in Upajāti metre; tender emotions like viraha, vipralambha in mandākrāntā (in all sandeśakāvyas); sragdharā is to be used to describe the heroic appearance of a warrior and vasantatilaka is to be used in the description of a beautiful damsel. Writers on music like Śārṅgadeva have associated particular metres with particular musical prabandhas. This would explain the musical possibilities of our metres.

APPENDIX.

(S *denotes that the name of the metre is the same as that adopted by Janāśraya*)

I. *VIṢAMAVṚTTA*

Janāśraya	*Piṅgala*	*Bharata*
1. Samāna	Samānī	
2. Pramāṇa	Pramāṇī	
3. Vitāna	S	
4. Udgatā	S	S
5. Saurabhakta	Saurabhaka	
6. Lalita	S	
7. Upasthitapracupita	S	
8. Vardhamāna	S	
9. Śuddhavirāḍṛṣabha	S	
10. Āpīḍa	S	
11. Mañjarī	S	
12. Lavalī	S	
13. Amṛtadhārā	S	
14. Pratyāpīḍa	S	
15. Vaktra (anuṣṭubh)	S	S
16. Pathyā	S	S
17. Viparītapathyā	S	
18. Capalā	S	
19. Vipulā	S	S
(*a*) Takāravipulā		
(*b*) Īkāravipulā		
(*c*) Makāravipulā		
(*d*) Ekāravipulā		

II. *ARDHASAMAVṚTTA.*

Janāśraya	*Piṅgala*	*Bharata*
1. Upacitra	Upacitraka	
2. Drutamadhyā	S	
3. Vegavatī	S	
4. Bhadravirāṭ	S	
5. Ketumatī	S	S
6. Ākhyānikā	Ākhyānikī	

Janāśraya.	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
7. Viparītākhyānikā	Viparītākhyānikī	
8. Hariṇaplutā	S	
9. Aparavaktrā	Aparavaktram	Aparavaktram
10. Puṣpitāgrā	S	S
11. Yamavatī	Yamamatī	
12. Devagīti		
13. Śikhā	S	
14. Khañjā	S	

III. *SAMAVṚTTA.*

Chandas.	*Janāśraya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
Uktā	1. Śrī		
Atyuktā	2. Āśis		
Madhyamā	3. Cañcalā		
Pratiṣṭhā	4. Kusumitā		
Supratiṣṭhā	5. Śāminī		
Gāyatrī	6. Tanumadhyā	S	S
			Makaraśīrṣā (Śaśivadanā)
			Mālinī
Uṣṇik	7. Kumāralalitā	S	Mattaceṣṭita
	8. Sopāna	S	
	9. Udyatā	S	Bhramara-mālikā
Anuṣṭubh	10. Māṇavakākrī-ḍitaka	S	
	11. Haṁsaruta		
	12. Padminī		
	13. Bālagarbhiṇī		
		Vidyunmālā	Vidyullekhā (Vidyun-mālā)
			Siṁhalīlā
			Mattaceṣṭita
Bṛhatī	14. Bhujaṅgaśiśu-sṛtā	S	
	15. Maṇimadhyā	S	Madhukari

Chandas.	*Janāśrāya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
Paṅkti	16. Śuddhavirāṭ	S	
	17. Paṇalā	S	
	18. Mayūrasāriṇī	S	
	19. Upasthitā	S	
	20. Vilasitā	S	Utpalamālinī Śikhisāriṇī
Triṣṭubh	21. Indravajrā	S	S
	22. Upendravajrā	S	S
	23. Indramāla (with 14 varieties)	Upajāti	
	24. Dodhakam	S	S
	25. Śālinī	S	
	26. Vātormimālā	S	
	27. Bhramaravilasitā	S	
	28. Rathoddhatā	S	
	29. Svāgatā	S	
	30. Vṛttāṅgī	S	
	31. Śyenī	S	
	32. Saṅgatā		
		Vilāsinī	
			Moṭaka
Jagatī	33. Vaṁśastha	S	S
	34. Indravaṁśā		
	35. Toṭaka	S	S
	36. Puṭa	S	Puṭavṛtta Hariṇīplutā
	37. Jaloddhatagati	S	
	38. Kusumitavicitrā		
	39. Bhujaṅgaprayāta	S	Arameya (Bhujaṅga-prayāta)
	40. Parimitākṣarā	S	S
	41. Drutavilambita	S	
	42. Vaiśvadevī	S	
	43. Navamālinī	S	
	44. Pramuditavadanā		
	45. Saudāminī		
		Tata Cañcalākṣikā	

Chandas.	*Janāśraya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
		Sragviṇī	
		Kāntotpīḍā	
		Vāhinī	
			Kāmamattā
			Padminī
Atijagatī	46. Praharṣiṇī	S	S
	47. Rucirā	S	
	48. Mattamayūra	S	S
	49. Nandinī		
	50. Bhadrā	Gaurī	Prabhāvatī
Śakvarī	51. Asambādhā	S	
	52. Aparājitā	S	S
	53. Praharaṇagalitā	S	
	54. Vasantatilaka	S	S
	55. Indumukhī	Udgharṣiṇī	
	56. Siṁhonnatā		
	57. Vilāsinī		
			Śarabhā
Atiśakvari	58. Candrāvartā	S	
	59. Mālā	S	
	60. Maṇiguṇanikara	S	
	61. Mālinī	S	Nāndīmukhī (Mālinī)
Aṣṭi	62. Ṛṣabhagajavilasitā	S	S
	63. Lalanā	S	
	64. Candralekhā		
			Pravaralalitam
Atyaṣṭi	65. Hariṇī	S	Vṛṣabhaceṣṭita (hariṇī)
	66. Śikhariṇī	S	S
	67. Pṛthvī	S	
	68. Vaṁśapatrapatita	S	S
	69. Mandākrāntā		Śrīdharā (Mandākrāntā Vilambitagati

Chandas.	*Janāśraya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
Dhṛti	70. Kusumitalatā		Citralekhā
Atidhṛti	71. Śārdūlavikrīḍita	S	S
	72. Vāyuvegā		
Kṛti	73. Suvadanā	S	S
	74. Vṛtta	S	
Prakṛti	75. Sragdharā	S	S
Ākṛti	76. Madraka	Bhadraka	S
Nikṛti (*Vikṛti*)	77. Aśvalalita	S	
	78. Mattākrīḍā	S	
Saṅkṛti (*Saṃskṛti*)	79. Tanvī	S	S
	80. Meghamālā		
Abhikṛti	81. Krauñcīpāda	Krauñcapādā	Krauñcapādī
Utkṛti	82. Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita	S	S
	83. Apavāhaka	S	
IV. *DAṆḌAKA.*	1. *Jalada*		
	(*a*) Megha		
	(*b*) Pipīlikā		
	(*c*) Paṇava		
	(*d*) Karabha		
	(*e*) Lalita		
	2. *Nicita*		
	3. *Caṇḍavṛṣṭipravāta*	Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta	
	(*a*) Arṇava		
	(*b*) Arṇa		
	(*c*) Plava		
	(*d*) Vyāla		
	(*e*) Jīmūta		
	(*f*) Līlākara		
	(*g*) Uddāma		
	(*h*) Siṃha		

Chandas.	*Janāśraya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
	(*i*) Samudra		
	(*j*) Bhujaṅga		
	4. *Pracita*	S	

V. *JĀTI*

VAITĀLĪYA	1. Vaitālīya	S	
	2. Aupacchandasika	S	
	3. Āpātalikā	S	

Each of these three has the following varieties:

	(*a*) Prācyavṛtti	S	
	(*b*) Aparāntikā	S	
	(*c*) Udīcyavṛtti	S	
	(*d*) Dakṣiṇāntikā	S	
	(*e*) Prasaktaka	Pravṛttaka	
		Cāruhāsinī	
Mātrāsamaka	4. Mātrāsamaka	S	
	5. Vanavāsikā	S	S
	6. Viśloka	S	
	7. Citrā	S	
	8. Upacitrā	S	
	9. Pādākulaka	S	
	10. Gītyāryā	S	
	11. Cūlikā	S	
	12. Śikhā	S	
	13. Tārā		
		Jyotiḥ	
		Sannayā	
Āryā	14. Āryā	S	S
	15. Pathyā	S	S
	16. Vipulā	S	S
	17. Capalā	S	S
	18. Mukhacapalā	S	S
	19. Jaghanacapalā	S	S
	20. Vāmanikā	Upagīti	
	21. Gīti	S	
	22. Dhruvā		
	23. Gītikā		
	24. Āryāgīti		
		Udgīti	
		Mahācapalā	

Chandas.	*Janāśraya.*	*Piṅgala.*	*Bharata.*
Other varieties:			
	25. Galita		
	26. Nirdhāyikā		
	27. Narkkuṭaka		
	28. Adhikākṣarā		
	29. Śīrṣaka		
	30. Lalitā		
	31. Subhadrā		
	32. Vidruma		
	33. Vaṁśapatra		
	34. Kuñjara		
	35. Puṣpadanta		
	36. Mālā		
	37. Trikalaya		
	38. Bhaṅgadvipadī		
	39. Dvipadī		
	40. Vidārī		
	41. Bhaṅgurāsaka		
	42. Avalambana		
	43. Rāsaka		
Gāthā	44. Ārṣī (Gāthā)		

"PIPER BETLE OR BETEL LEAVES AND BETEL NUTS" OR "CHEWING, A PECULIAR SOUTH INDIAN CUSTOM"

BY

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO

The chewing of betel leaves with betel nuts and chunam seems to be a definitely a South Indian custom which has slowly pervaded the North and possibly other parts of the world also. Sometimes Karpūra, Kāchu, cloves, cardamom (एला) and Jāyikāi or nutmeg and other scented ingredients are also mixed therewith obviously to make the mouth scented and coloured; tobacco is also eaten along with this as a stimulant. Without tobacco, it may be regarded as an excitant of passion and as an aid to digestion; it is a very healthy pastime then; but when mixed with tobacco, it becomes really a dirty habit; the person has sometimes to carry a spittoon, he spits so very often and makes the place around him red and dirty. His teeth will be always discoloured.

This appears to to be a South Indian custom since the word "betel" is known to have travelled from Malabar to Portugal from where it became known to the other European countries. The Malayālam word is '*Vettila*' corresponding to 'Vettilai' in Tamil and Vīlyadela in Kannaḍa. Why the other word derived from Samskrit Tāmbūla is used in the other Dravidian languages is not very clear; in Telugu it is *tomula* and in Tuḷu which is usually very near Malayālam or Kannaḍa in other respects, it is peculiarly 'Tamantre' (also 'bacchire' in the folk dialect). The Malayālam '*Vettila*' was carried by the Portuguese traders who came to the west coast. Both the leaves and the nuts which abound in the west coast—Kālidāsa refers to the sea-shore here as posseesing rows of arecanuts कूलं फलावर्जितपूगमालम् Raghu XIII. 17—became popular articles of trade. Cloves which are dried flower buds of *eugenia aromatica* from the islands like Zanzibar, easily accessible from the western coast, also became popularly used along with these; cardamom (*eletteria cardamomum*) abounds also in Malabar. Foreign ships touched Malabar from

time immemorial and took all these condiments as also betel leaves and nuts. We can conclude that this practice of chewing betel leaves and using spices therewith must have originated with the west coast.

In Samskrit the various names for betel leaves are *nāgavallī*, *punnāgavallī*, and *tāmbūla*; the nuts are referred to as *kramuka*, *pūga* and घोण्टा. This last word is not so popular and smacks of Dravidian influence, having something to do with the gōṭu aḍike of Kannaḍa. This latter might have been used to refer to the artificially ripened hard variety,[1] the one ripening in the tree being referred to by the other two words. Foreigners like the English seem to have used the same word betel and clubbed it along with the leaves or nuts as occasion required. Sometimes they use the word arecanut, borrowing the word from the Kannaḍa language, spoken in the northern part of the west coast, wherein the word used was "*aḍike*". In Tamil, they refer to it as "Aḍaikkāi" and "pākku"; the Andhras use the word "*Vakkalu*" also; in Malayālam it is pāk and "*aḍeika*"; but in Tuḷu, the word is a very strange one, unconnected with these and it is "*bajjeyi*". Hindi has a strange word supāri for nuts but calls the leaves simply pān; other north Indian languages borrow this word. In Marāthi etc., they also use Vīḍache pān, (Bidāche pān, Hindi Bīḍākā pān) besides pān. The first word seems to be borrowed from the Dravidian word, vīḍa being easily traceable to beṭa in bettila. The Persian tāmbul is a loan word.

It is difficult to guess when exactly this practice came into vogue. At present, however, this is regarded as an auspicious habit. Betel is always placed on the table in welcoming a guest and is an essential requisite on ceremonial occasions like marriage, upanayanam etc., where sandal paste, scents and these leaves and nuts are offered to the guests. These leaves and the nut are usually offered along with the *dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fee presented to a Brahmin for the religious ceremonies he has offitiated at. It is, to use the particular pharse, सदक्षिणाकं ताम्बूलम्. It is also a necessary requisite of the pūjā

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1. They are prepared by boiling in water, cutting up into slices, drying in the sun, by which treatment the slices assume a dark brown or black colour—British Encyclopaedia.

paraphernalia in all temples and houses. The "*nivedana*" mantra itself is

पूगीफलसमायुक्तं नागवल्लीदलैर्युतम् ।
कर्पूरचूर्णसंयुक्तं ताम्बूलं प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥

For obvious reasons again, it finds a prominent place among the things exhibited by the prostitute to attract her customers.

It is thus an essential article in all our households. It has become a necessity in all our religious ceremonies from the cradle to the grave. But in all our Vedic literature from the Ṛg Veda down to the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, as also in our epics, this word Tāmbūla does not occur. In the Rāmāyaṇa, this word has not been traced in the possible places where it should have occurred, *viz.*, the sacrificial ceremonies, the description of Sītā's marriage, or Rāvaṇa's harem. The दानधर्मपर्व of the Ānuśāsanika in the Mahābhārata refers only to सदक्षिणाक but not to सताम्बूल dānas; yajñas must be श्रद्धापूत and सदक्षिण, 95th adhyāya last (verse). Similarly on a later occasion, when the various dakṣiṇās are enumerated—
धेनूरनडुहोऽन्नानि छत्रं वासांस्युपानहौ। आज्यानि यजमानेभ्यस्तथान्नानि च भारत ॥
Tāmbūla does not at all find a place. Further on in 155th adhyāya, पुष्प, धूप and दीप dānas are referred to as being highly efficacious. Pāṇini does not refer to the word in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. The earliest dramatist Bhāsa does not refer to this word at all in his published dramas, though dakṣiṇā is referred to at least twice, once in Avimāraka and again in Pañcarātra. The presumption thus gains confirmation that for a long time, till the beginning of the Christian era at least, the custom of adding betel leaves to dakṣiṇā or सताम्बूल दक्षिणा might not have come into vogue. Among the authorities quoted in Nirṇayasindhu p. 423 (edn., Sri Venkateswara press, Bombay), the Kālikāpurāṇa alone says दद्याद्यज्ञोपवीत्येव ताम्बूलं दक्षिणां तथा, all other authorities cited referring to दक्षिणा in gold or silver, or 'paṇa' 'kākinī' or phala puṣpa etc. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 31st, 35th, 36th chapters, also speak only of यथाशक्तिदक्षिणा, perferably in silver to please the pitṛs. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra does not refer to it. The earlier Śāstrakāras like Manu or Yājñavalkya do not refer to it, nor do the earlier Upaniṣads; only the late Bhāvanopaniṣad refers to it as

अवस्थात्रयाणामेकीकरणं ताम्बूलं; later Śāstrakāras like Samvarta, Śātātapa, Parāśara refer to it. The late Bārhaspatya Artha-śāstra refers Tāmbūla three or four times.

Perhaps the earliest reference to betel chewing particularly after food is the one in the Jātaka stories of the Buddhists. The puritanic section of the Buddhists refers to the Buddha as having refused to chew after his meal; but the Avadānaśataka refers to him as having allowed himself this luxury. Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtrās refers in 3 or 4 places to the practice of chewing betels. I Adhikaraṇa 4th adhyāya advises the refined nāgaraka thus- स प्रातः उत्थाय कृतनियतकृत्यः गृहीतदंतधावनः मात्रयानुलेपनं धूपं स्रजं च गृहीत्वा, दत्त्वा सिक्थकमलक्तकं च दृष्ट्वादर्शे मुखं, गृहीतताम्बूलः कार्याण्यनुतिष्ठेत. Just a few lines above also we read तत्र रात्रिशेषमनुलेपनं माल्यं सिक्थकरण्डकं सौगंधिकपुटिकामातुलुंगत्वचस्ताम्बूलानि च स्युः ॥ ८ ॥ In the Vth chapter 37, the various persons with whom such a man can mix in society are referred to as रजक-नापित-मालाकार--गांधिक सौरिक-भिक्षुक-गोपालक-ताम्बूलक-सौवर्णिक-पीठमर्द-विट-विदूषकादयः; on a later occasion, II. 10. in the course of his instructions to the lovers on the proper methods of lovemaking, he advises throwing of leaves, sandal paste etc., on the body of the other अनयोरुचितदेशोपविष्टयोस्ताबूलग्रहणमच्छीकृतं चंदनं अनुलेपनं तस्याः गात्रे स्वयमेव निवेशयेत्. and more explicitly to transfer the betel into the mouth of the other वदनेन ताम्बूलदानं in III. 2. Such references are too many to be noted further. Perhaps the next literary reference to it is in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa VI, 64.

ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगास्वेलालतालिंगितचंदनासु ।
तमालपत्रास्तरणासु रंतुं प्रसीद शश्वन्मलयस्थलीषु ॥

where he distinctly refers to the एलालताः or cardamom creepers growing luxuriantly along with betel creepers and nuts and tamāla trees in the Malaya regions, *i.e.*, the Malabar coast. Passing on, Śūdraka in the Mṛcchakaṭika, in the IV act, when describing the mansion of Vasantasenā refers to this thus, दीयेत गणिकाकामुकयोः सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम्. His remark is interesting in as much as he is probably the first to refer to these betel leaves being mixed with karpūra (cf. our *nivedana* mantra कर्पूरचूर्णसंयुक्तं ताम्बूलम्). Further on, later writers like Bāṇa and

others refer to Tāmbūla very often. Bāṇa actually refers to a ताम्बूलकरण्डवाहिनी as Candrāpīḍa's personal attendant (or betel box carrier). All the writers on medicine also, beginning from Caraka (whom Buddhist tradition as recorded in the Tripiṭaka makes the physician royal to King Kaniṣka in 78 A.D.), Suśruta (about 4th century A.D) and Vāgbhaṭa (perhaps 7th cent.) consistently refer to these leaves. Suśruta mentions these leaves as an aid to वाजीकरण (aphrodisiac) in chapter 26, Cikitsāsthāna:

यामिनी सेंदुतिलका कामिनी नवयौवना । गीतं श्रोत्रमनोहारि
ताम्बूलं मदिरा स्रजः । मनसश्चाप्रतीघातो वाजीकुर्वन्ति मानसम् ॥

Vāgbhaṭa in his Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya II. 6 says

ततो नावनगण्डूषधूमताम्बूलभाग्भवेत् ।
ताम्बूलं क्षतपित्तास्त्ररूक्षोत्कुपितचक्षुषाम् ।
विषमूर्च्छामदार्तानामपथ्यं शोषिणामपि ॥

How is this to be chewed? Are the leaves first eaten or the nut? The answer is authoritatively supplied by Venkaṭanātha (Vedānta Deśika), the famous Vaiṣṇavite saint in his Tamil (Deśika) prabandha (आहारनियम section) and that is that the leaf should be first put into the mouth and next the nut. This is also clear from the '*Nalangu*' in Tamil families corresponding to the '*Nāgole*' in Kannaḍa families (one of the social ceremonies connected with marriage where the sumaṅgalis or elderly ladies gather round the couple and initiate them into the art). They instruct the bride to pass on first the leaves with the slight coating of chunam to her partner in life, and then only the nuts. Till then in their brahmacarya, the bridegroom and the bride should not have chewed at all. The reason for this prohibition is obvious ; the betel nuts leave the tongue rougher than before and produce a sort of inertia; as such students who must cultivate studious habits should not use them. As they are erotic stimulants, the newly wedded pair are expected to partake of them. This is usually on the fourth day of the marriage which is referred to as "*cāpe maduve*" among the Kannaḍigas in South Kanara indicating that this is a preliminary rite for their nuptial marriage. This seems to suggest that formerly the nuptials followed the marriage immediately and the elderly ladies quietly apprenticed

them thereto, providing them with the necessary stimulants or excitants of passion. Curiously their presenting betel leaves first and then the nuts corresponds to the custom of the people of South Kanara who are usually instructed to cut the the unusually hard nuts by mixing them with the already prepared juice of the leaves. Śūdraka is the earliest to mention mixing of karpūra and then later medical writers suggested the mixing of various spices like cardamom. Cloves, kāchu, jāyikā or nutmeg should be eaten along with these. Women, soon after child-birth, are particularly advised to eat these tender leaves as often as possible to add to their vitality and also to aid their digestive powers.

It is also interesting to note how the scholar and the soldier are honoured in our country by publicly presenting them with betel leaves and nuts in open royal Durbars or public assemblies. Śri Harṣa, the author of the poem Naiṣadhīyacarita refers to the way in which he was honoured by the then King of Kānyakubja, ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च लभते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात् (last verse of कविप्रशास्ति). The soldier, on being ordained as commander-in-chief, was also publicly presented with betel leaves. This is very often referred to in the country dramas in South Kanara wherein the prospective commander is exhorted to fight by being presented with these leaves, the particular Kannada expression being

raṇadhurake Vīḷyava Kodu.[1]

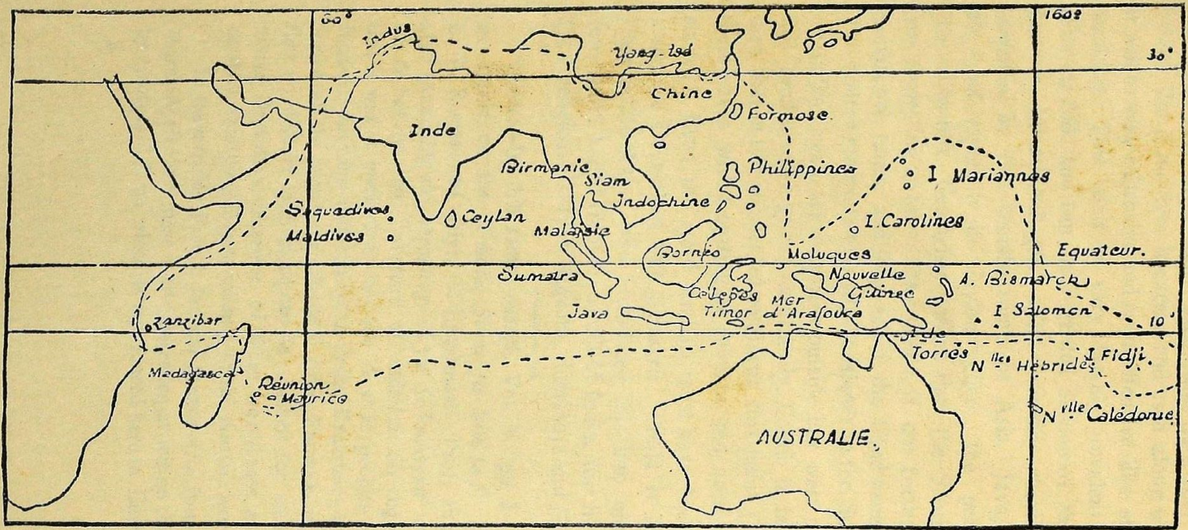
Our presumption that Betel-chewing was a South Indian custom gains support by the fact that in the Vedic literature ending with the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, this word is not found. The habit is prevalent in Bengal, Assam, Burma and the Indian Archipelago. Kālidāsa's definite association of this with west coast should be noted in this connection. Like candana or muktā which is also particularly South Indian, this is another speciality which had travelled to the North only to be honoured and welcomed and received with open arms by everybody. It has very great medicinal value, being carminative or कफहर and antacid tonic as its leaves are pungent and aromatic. This is testified to by all the Ayurvedic

1. Among the Malayas of the Archipalego, the offering of *sirih* or tāmbūla is accepted as a legal sign of apology for a serious offence—Chambers' Encyclopaedia.

doctors from the beginning of the Christian era, and so eating this moderately twice daily after meals is a very wholesome habit. But if indulged in excess, and used along with tobacco, it will be very expensive and even offensive like snuffing and smoking. This habit is very largely prevalent among the illiterate folk and can be regarded as one of the causes of poverty in our villages. This constant chewing is very common in the islands south of Asia, Java, Sumatra etc. and especially in Ceylon, where the people cannot live without it. Geologists believe that the South of India was projecting as far as the equator, if not further south, in pre-historic times, and they call it the Gondwana continent. The eastern remnants thereof, the islands in the Southern part of Indian Ocean, are the places outside our west coast where this betel creeper grows luxuriantly. Could it be presumed then that in this submerged continent this habit (of chewing these leaves with a coating of chunam and nuts) might have started? Even the word tāmbūla must have been borrowed from the Dravidians into Samskrit. Could it be that the Dharmaśāstrakāras who introduced this into our religious ceremonies, hailed from the South of India, just like the three great religious Ācāryas, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva?

[*Note*:—In this same journal, Vol. V. pp. 1-10, there is an article on the *'Dravidic Jorms for Betel-Leaf'* by the late L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar of Ernakulam. Prof. Przyluski had, after examining the etymology of the Indo-Aryan word *tāmbūl* which has no Indo-European or Indo-Iranian cognate, shown that it was a loan-word from the Austric peoples with whom Indo-Aryans came into contact in India. Examining the Dravidian forms of the word for betel-leaf, Prof. Ramaswami Aiyar says that no definite conclusions can be reached for establishing the native Dravidian character of these word-bases and that they do show structural correspondance to the Austric words.

In the monthly French Journal *France-Asie* from Saigon, for March-April 1949, there is an interesting article on the Betel Leaf by Georges Lebrun which is reproduced here in English.—*V.R.*]



------------ Limite approximative d'extension du bétel

BETEL CHEWING.[1]

BY

GEORGES LEBRUN

Man has always sought to forget his daily worries in paradisiacal visions of an imaginary world. If poesy or simple dreams were not sufficient to free him from his sad memories he always turned, according to his taste or personality, towards stimulants and narcotics of which the human genius has discovered an infinite variety. To this long list belongs betel chewing also.

Especially in the Orient where, if one were to believe Theophile Gautier, the use of wine was almost unknown, man easily turned to opiates. The area of betel chewing can perhaps be defined by drawing a line beginning with Madagascar and Zanzibar, reaching Asia near the Indus, then rising up to the river Yang-tse, circumscribing Burma, Siam and Indo-China, via Formosa and the Phillipines. The line then enters the Indian Ocean, surrounding the Molucus, the Mariana Isles, Carolines, Solomon islands, Fiji, Bismarck Archipelago, New Guinea and Reunion islands and then passes on through the Torres Straits to Timor and thence to the south of Sunda Isles. The practice, in other words, extends between East longitudes 60 degrees and 160° and latitudes 10 degrees south to 30 degrees north—more than 1 million square Kilometers—among all kinds of people, young and old, men and women, princes and peasants, of all races and all faiths. Chewing is indulged in at all times, (It begins in very early age, in Burma, and an old Burmese saying has it that nobody can speak unless one had already learnt chewing) except when it is necessarily suspended as when one is asleep, (but many Indians manage to sleep with *pan* in their mouths) or when one is making love. Among the males of Tagalog, it is considered a sign of true love on the part of their males, if they abstain from chewing during amour.

This wide-spread practice has continued from remote antiquity. The areca palm is mentioned by Theophraste (340 B.C.) as also in old Sanskrit and Chinese texts. The

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1. *France-Asie*, Saigon, March-April, 1949. pp. 706 *et seq*. We are thankful to Sri R. Ramachandran, Life Member, K.S.R.I. for the English version given here.

betel also is mentioned in a Pali text describing an incident that happened in 504 B.C. The Persian historian Ferishta says that betel was held in great esteem by the Persians of the 6th century, but its use there is much reduced now. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta (14th Century) also mention it in the narration of their voyages. Thus, though we know that betel has been known for more than 2000 years we do not know the exact origin of the custom. The Vietnamese have the following story :—

About 2000 B.C., during the reign of Hung-Vuong IV (The dynasty founded by De-Minh which ruled from 2884 to 257 B.C., had 18 kings of the name of Hung-Vuong) there lived a mandarin at the Court, father of two sons, Lang and Tang who resembled each other so remarkably that they could not be distinguished. After the death of their father they were brought up by a Taoist priest, Luu-Huyen. Now it so happened that this priest had a daughter, Thi-Trau, who loved both the brothers but wanted to marry only the elder. To find who was the elder, she got an idea. While serving them food, she gave each of them only one chop stick. Immediately, the younger brother offered his own stick to the elder, with great show of reverence. So the girl knew who was the elder. After his marriage, the elder, Lang, began to neglect his younger. The latter therefore got disgusted with life and started out on an adventure. One evening he stopped on the banks of an unfordable river. Fed up with life, he threw himself into the river and was immediately turned into a rock. Lang, smitten with remorse came to the same spot, in due course, after searching for his brother in various places. Being fatigued, he rested himself on the rock and was turned into an areca nut tree "whose head appeared to be dishevelled as if tormented by repentance". His wife also came to the same spot in search of them, and there, she leaned against the tree to rest for some time. Her body was immediately changed into a betel vine which turned itself around the tree.

In a year of drought all plants in the kingdom died except the areca tree and the betel vine around it. This phenomenon attracted the attention of all the peasants who began making a pilgrimage to this place. The story reached the ears of the King. As it was the custom to mix the blood of bastards in the same basin, in order to establish their paternity, the King caused the burnt rock, the nut of the areca and the leaves of

the betel to be crushed together. At the sight of the beautiful red colour which resulted he had no more doubts about the sincerity of the sentiments which bound these three people. He therefore ordained that henceforth betel should be chewed by young married couples and by brothers and sisters in order tò ensure conjugal and filial affection. (The betel and the areca nut are named after the couple, Trau and Lang.)

The 'betel', or *Piper Betel* L. belongs to the Piperacee family which includes also *Piper Melamiris Lamk*, *Chavica Betle Miq.*, *Chavica Auriculata Miq.*, *Arthante hexagyna Miq.*, etc. It was probably an original native of Malaya.

Areca nut is the fruit of areca, a palm of the genus *areca L* belonging to the *arecines* family. There are fourteen species some of which yield a butter of the consistency of lanolin, an edible pith, and also some salt, etc. The most well known is *areca catechu L* or *areguier cachou*, probably with its original habitat in the Sunda Isles. (*Arec* is the name in the Talinga dialect in the Sunda Isles.)

In Manilla, women are experts in preparing *pan*. In Siam and New Guinea the mixture is previously ground in a mortor before use. The Vietnamese prefer fresh nuts while the Malays, Cambodians, Laotians and Malabaris prefer the dried nut. It was always important to cut off the stalk of the betel leaf, and this custom is explained in the following story :—

A young man used to repair to the house of his mistress every night. One morning, before leaving her house, he wanted to chew pan. There being no pan leaf in the house, the girl plucked a fresh one from the garden and gave it to him. As soon as he put the leaf into his mouth he became stiff and fell down dead. The girl was accused of murder, arrested, jailed and tortured. This went on for three years without any "confession" from her of her "guilt". Now there arrived in the Province a new Judge, the celebrated Bao-Cong who went over the case once again. He carefully examined the betel leaves and found that the stalks of those which grew near the ground were covered with some glistening slime as that extruded by snails or leeches. Not finding any such creature there he had the ground dug up and found, deep down, an enormous serpent, *thuong luong*. Then everything became clear to the wise judge. The serpent, stifled by the

heat of the day emerged during the night and rested on the cool betel vine, thus poisoning the stalks of the leaves. To obviate a recurrence of the fatal accident he recommended that henceforth the stalk of the betel should be carefully removed before use.

The *chunam* used either as such, or coloured rose, is often kept in artistically made pots. And thereby hangs a tale:—

An old thief, very active in his days but now decrepit, confined himself to petty larceny in a neighbouring pagoda. The priests were very much alive to the situation but could not do anything because Buddhism enjoined only good and kind acts to evil doers. The thief, sensing his approaching death confessed to one of the priests all his misdeeds and begged him to pray for his absolution. Now was the great opportunity for which the priest was waiting. He said to the thief, "However sincere your repentance, that by itself won't do to wash out all your sins. You must get up the top of this banian tree and after having uttered the sacred name of the Buddha, thrice, you must fall down head foremost". When the thief meekly asked if he won't be surely killed that way the priest assured him that the Buddhas will surely catch him with their miraculous *pasa* (*le thuoc-ta*) and with it lift him up straight to Heaven. Early next morning the penitant thief climbed up the tree and after having thrice cried "*Mo-Phat*!", threw himself down. The priest was watching this denouement with great glee, hoping to be finally rid of an inconvenient neighbour. But to his great surprise he found, contrary to all expectations, that his own prediction was being realised! A red silken rope, lassoed from invisible hands, caught hold of the thief, and gently lifted him skywards.

The priest was much perplexed at this unexpected sight. So he concluded that since the Buddha, in his abundant grace, had saved even such a sinner, he would certainly come to the rescue of all pious priests like himself if he were to follow the same path to salvation. So, at an auspicious hour one morning, he climbed the tree (without the knowledge of any of his fellow priests) and threw himself down. This time, alas, no miracle happened. As he fell down, the priest was impaled on a pointed branch of the tree which traversed his body right through. To purge him of his envy and rancour the bad priest was transformed into a *chunam* pot, with a protruding

belly as of a rolling corpse. The opening of the pot denoted the wound, the reddish scum round the mount, coagulated blood, and the spatula represents the banian stake on which he was impaled. Thus the Buddha gave him terrible punishment. The burning and corrosive *chunam* representing envy and rancour, is stirred up constantly and to make the punishment complete, the mount of the pot is often scraped off with the spatula by way of removing rancour and envy gradually and slowly. And the punishment is eternal because for countless centuries men and women, old and young, have been chewing night and day without ceasing.

This sacred origin of the *chunam* pot has raised it to the status of a presiding deity in the household, under the name "Ong Binch Voi" (Lord Chunam Pot). On the occasion of the Têt, Lord Pot is washed and the spatula is placed across the mount. After having fed the pot with fresh lime, up to the neck, it is placed on the family altar and worshipped as one of the household deities. It would appear that old pots have the power of protecting the house from thieves. Also, old chewers take particular care, after the last *pan* every night, to take the spatula off the pot so that it may be enabled to speak, if necessary, and also to allow it to sleep during the night. The *chunam* crust formed around the mouth should never be scraped away because this act as well as the breaking of the pot itself, presages misfortune which could be averted only by a special ritualistic ceremony. On the other hand, the greater the crust formation, the greater the luck for the householder. Some day, however, very old pots are taken from their resting places. Their great age invests them with demi-Godship and they are placed under a banian tree or transferred to the local pagoda. Unless one wants to do a bad turn to the house-owner nobody should strike the mouth of the pot with the spatula. This *faux pas* will surely cause him violent tooth ache.

The paraphernalia for serving betels are at times veritable works of art in silver, lacquer or porcelain. They all contain a compartment for the leaves, another for the nuts, a *chunam* pot of variable designs, a bay for tobacco, yet another for cinnamon barks and, finally, one for holding a piece of cloth to clean the teeth with. A spittoon completes the list. Formerly, Vietnamese used to carry, while travelling, the betel and tobacco in two boxes, the one shaped like a flower and the other like the

leaf of water lily, as shoulder bags. Duc Chaigneau says "When one goes to a mandarin, the usual custom for him is to bow down with one of the bags suspended from his neck by means of a blue or rose-coloured muslin." There is a strictly regular formality in the use of betel bags and one should not use paraphernalia reserved for superior classes. The king's bags are of yellow or red satin embroidered with figures of dragons. The mandarin's bags should be of red and green silk, or red and blue, or again red and black, embroidered with flowers. Ordinary silk bags, unadorned and in single colour, are for ordinary people. According to the *Hoi-Dien* (administrative regulations), the king, at the time of his coronations, should distribute betel bags to the princes and princesses.

The betel plays an important role in the lives of the poeple of the Far East. It is used not merely for pleasure but is an important item in the various significant stages in one's life. Let us confine ourselves here to some of its typical uses in the lives of Vietnamese.

No offering is ever made without betels, and they are a necessity during worship, when a child is born, or when he reaches maturity, or when something has been achieved. But the chewing of betel which is a symbol of fidelity and love plays a particularly important role during marriages. If a girl accepts betel from a boy, the act is tantamount to an engagement.

The poetess Hô-Xuân-Huong has sung the following charming stanza:—

Behold this tender areca-nut split in two
Chew a pan ere it fades
If the bonds of wedlock should bind us true
Let fair vermilion be the hue
Not the green of the leaf nor the white of the chalk.

(There is a play on Vietnamese words here: *bac* represents not only the white colour of the chalk but also infidelity, ingratitude).

On the day of the marriage the arrival of the guests at the bride's house is announced by distribution of pansupari, when the groom is presented to his future parents-in-law the latter have to accept the betels and the cup of wine from him in token of their consent for the match. Among wedding presents is a plate with a huge cone of betel leaves arranged on it, surmoun-

ted by areca nuts, and the whole covered by a red cloth embroidered with dragons. This plate should be prepared by a man of venerable age (with his first wife still living) at dead of night beyond the sight of profane eyes. Alone, and in a closed room lighted with many candles, the old man prays to *Ong-To* and *Ba Nguyệt*, deities presiding over marriages. The plate represents the future common life of the married couple. The red cover-cloth should be removed only three days after the marriage. According to a cruel custom the young couple should not consummate their marriage before these days are passed. If they break this rule, it will be easily known because the leaves will have faded near the peduncles. When these leaves are subsequently distributed to the guests the latter will reproach the couple for their misdeeds.

In the nuptial chamber the couple should chew one hundred times to ensure 100 years of conjugal bliss. But in practice, however, they chew only once, as a ceremony.

Pansupari is at times invested with supernatural powers.

It is therefore not surprising to find that some sorceress can be employed to administer enchanted pan in order to force the love of somebody.

According to Vietnamese pharmacopoeia betel chewing cures fever, dysentry and stomach ache. The leaf, applied to the head, relieves head ache and placed on the stomach of the suffering infants, it cures colic.

Allopathic medicine, with its methods of scientific precision, has often confirmed many of the medical virtues attributed to the betel leaf by ancient practitioners.

Generally, chewing helps digestion and sweating, except when used in excess, when it leads to contrary results. Arterial blood pressure is raised and leads to the quickening of the respiratory system. Finally, its calcium content is of particular benefit to people.

Thanks to an inexplicable instinct orientals have discovered, since several centuries ago, a tonic agent, particularly favourable to the health of those people who are generally undernourished. Used in moderation, it is perfectly inoffensive. There can, however, be one complaint, namely that it may easily become a habit, and finally a necessity. But this seems to be about its only defect.

THE KUPPUSWAMY SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

FIFTH FOUNDATION DAY

The Fifth Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was celebrated in the grounds of the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, on Monday the 29th August, 1949, with the Hon. Mr. K. Madhava Menon, Education Minister, Govt. of Madras, in the chair.

After prayer, Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar, member of the Governing Body of the Institute, spoke welcoming the Education Minister and other guests. He said:

" In the unavoidable absence owing to illness of the learned President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, I, as a member of the Governing Body of the Institute, consider it a privilege conferred upon me by my colleagues to have been called upon to extend on behalf of the Institute a hearty welcome to the President of this function, the hon. Mr. K. Madhava Menon, our Education Minister. We feel highly pleased and honoured, Sir, by the kindness and readiness with which you agreed to preside over our Fifth Foundation Day celebrations. To us who are working in the field of education, learning, research, and culture, it is a great comfort to note that in you, our Province has an Education Minister who has sound views in matters of education, and a true and balanced appreciation of all the phases and the fundamental basis of our cultural heritage. Rich and varied as this cultural heritage of India is, it is our firm belief that its essential feature is its unity, and it is the aim of this Research Institute to bring out and emphasise in its varied activity in the field of Indological research, this fundamental unity of Indian culture. I dare say you will agree, Sir, that this synthetic outlook and a sense of the fundamental unity are of utmost importance to-day, when in the name of research the edifice of unity is sought to be disrupted. An all round scholar in the different branches of Sanskrit learning, as much on its literary side as on its philosophical side, and as much in the traditional style as in the modern style, Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri emphasised this synthesis and fundamental unity both in his life and writings. As one who was closely associated with him in the scholarly field, I can say that a Research Institute with this noble aim

before it could be started in the name of no better or greater scholar, than the late Kuppuswamy Sastriar. With our limited resources of men and money, we have endeavoured to pursue our ideals and have carried on our activities without feeling discouraged by impediments. A report of our work for the year ending 31st July, 1949 will be presented to you now by my esteemed friend, Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar. Prof. *C. Kunhan Raja*, Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University, one of the seniormost pupils of the late Kuppuswami Sastriar, has made his mark in the field of Sanskrit studies by his varied work in the University, Adyar Library and elsewhere. We are all very glad that the Madras University authorities have honoured him with a full Professorship now. It is highly appropriate that he should have agreed to deliver the Foundation Address of the Institute founded in the name of his revered guru. I welcome also the two learned lecturers of the evening who are to address us on this occasion. Sri M. Raghava Ayyangar who had kindly promised to deliver a lecture has not been able to attend owing to illness. We are all very grateful to Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai for kindly agreeing to speak at such short notice. Prof. *S. Vaiyapuri Pillai*, formerly Editor of Tamil Lexion and Head of the Tamil Department of the Madras University, is a scholar who by his dispassionate, balanced and critical outlook, and wide scholarship, stands out as a superior type of scholar in Tamil. Of the great Malayalam poet, Mahakavi *Vallathol*, it is unnecessary for me, Sir, to say anything to you by way of introduction ; you know him so well ; but you will permit me if I say that Vallathol is as eminent a Sanskrit scholar as he is a Malayalam poet ; it would interest all to know that the big work he is now engaged on is a Malayalam translation of the Sanskrit work, the Bauddhāvadāna-kalpalatā of Kshemendra. His observations on Malayalam and Sanskrit literature today, I am sure, will be very valuable. Lastly, along with this function of the Institute, the Madras Sanskrit Academy will be honouring the Sanskrit Poet-Laureate Mahamahopadhyaya Krishnamurthi Sastri of the Rameswaram Devasthanam Pathasala of Madura with an address and purse. I have great pleasure in requesting you, Sir, to take the chair and conduct the proceedings of this meeting. I welcome you also, ladies and gentlemen, for readily complying with our request to be present here on this occasion."

Dr. V. Raghavan, Secretary, then read messages received for the success of the function from Dr. Amarnath Jha, Srimati Sophia Wadia, Vidvan Raghava Iyengar, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Pandit K. T. Pandurangi, and Dr. S. C. Sarkar, Secretary of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

Sri K. Balasubramanya Iyer, Secretary of the Institute, presented a report of the working of the Institute for the period 1948-49.

Delivering tbe Foundation Day address, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, at the outset, paid a tribute to the late Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastri, and said that the Research Institute founded in his name stood for the unity of Indian culture. In looking after the culture of India, Sanskrit played an important part. It did not mean that the other languages were ignored. Institutions like this should also consider the claims of other languages, like Tamil and Malayalam. He regretted that during the rule of the popular Ministry, Sanskrit, as a subject of study in schools, had become "an optional option." It was in the position of a prisoner, who was put on a diet which did not allow him to die or permit him to live properly. He pleaded for giving Sanskrit and other languages in the curricula of studies as good a position as other subjects and also to give to teachers in those languages the same emoluments and status as teachers in other subjects. The Government and the people must take advantage of institutions like this to see that culture also played a part in the civic life of the nation in an independent country.

Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai read an interesting paper on "Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam" as could be gleaned from 'Paṭṭinappālai". He said that institutions like this should take up research work not only in respect of books but also in archaeology.

Mahakavi Vallathol next addressed the gathering. He made a few opening remarks in Sanskrit and then addressed the gathering in Malayalam. He paid a glowing tribute to the late Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri and made a fervent appeal for fostering Sanskrit studies. He said that Hindi had been adopted as the national language of the country, because of the present neglected condition of Sanskrit. It should be their endeavour to put forth their best efforts to popularise Sanskrit so that it could become the national laguage of the country at least within 50 years.

Winding up the proceedings, the Hon. Mr. Madhava Menon said that he had great regard and love for Sanskrit, and an equally great regard for the late Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri. He had the privilege of working with the late Mm. Sastri in the Senate and the Academic Council of the Madras University, and was personally aware of his great qualities.

Proceeding, the Minister cleared certain misapprehensions entertained by Dr. Kunhan Raja, and said that it was only by the force of circumstances that they had to be "slave" of the English language for 15 more years. He agreed entirely with the sentiments expressed about Sanskrit by the several speakers. He would like to remind them that it was easy to get ready on paper a programme, but he must have the necessary machinery with which to work out that programme. It was this difficulty of executing a programme that was facing him. It was to get over this difficulty that he required their help. But, the help given should not be such as would create some sort of antagonism by the very nature of the help itself. They should not say or do anything that would provoke more difficulties on the top of the difficulties that already existed. While the scheme for the reorganisation of education was a right thing in the right direction, there might be some defects in it that required to be remedied. Therefore, in their anxiety for the promotion of Sanskrit, let them not create more bitterness.

The Minister stated that the Institute was doing laudable work, and could become a source of help in reviving Sanskrit culture. As Poet Vallathol has remarked, there were hundreds of works in Sanskrit still remaining undiscovered. The Minister felt that the co-ordination of all the activities of the research institutes in Sanskrit would be a very great help for the attainment of their object, the development of Sanskrit and Sanskrit culture. As Minister, he would try his best to get as much help as posible in this matter. In various religious centres and even in many old houses in Malabar, many manuscripts still remained to be unearthed.

Concluding, Mr. Madhava Menon said that a lot of their want of faith in themselves and the want of faith in God that was coming over the country could be remedied by reviving Sanskrit nnd Sanskrit culture. The main objection to that came from a good portion of Tamil Nad. Somehow or other Sanskrit learning had come to be associated with a particular class of people. It was as wrong to say that Sanskrit was the

language of Brahmins as to say that Urdu was the language of Muslims. The ignorant prejudice against Sanskrit that existed in some quarters could be remedied by sufficient publicity and by giving an opportunity for others to know what great treasures lay in Sanskrit, and how the culture, which was represented by Sanskrit, could make their country great. They need not feel diffident about reviving that culture and civilisation, if they made up their minds to work a little in that direction. Any change in the school curricula was not possible now. There was sufficient time for the beginning of the next academic year for him to try and give Sanskrit at least the same place that it occupied four or five years ago. That was not much; but, if he succeeded in doing that much, he could feel that he had done something.

Sri K. Balasubramania Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

General Body Meeting

The Annual General Body Meeting of the Institute was held in the Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapa earlier in the evening on the same day.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer presided.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the Fith Annual Report of the Institute, the audited statement of accounts for the period 1-8-1948—31-7-1949, and the budget for the next year.

Three Life Members of the Institute passed away during the year, Mr. Justice V. Govindarajachari, Mr. G.A. Natesan and Mr. T. Vasu Naidu.

Ten new Life Members were enrolled, Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer, Advocate, Mylapore, Madras; Sri. C. A. Seshagiri Sastri, Advocate, Mylapore, Madras; Dr. Saileshwar Sen, Professor of Philosophy, Andhra University, Waltair; H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Puri Mutt; Sri S. L. Sastri, Retd. Income Tax Commissioner, Royapettah, Madras; Shri M. Subrahmanyam, Retd. Account-General, Madras 10; Hon. Mr. Justice S. Panchapagesa Sastri, Mylapore, Madras; Sri R. Subrahmanyam, Sun Life Assurance Co., of Canada, Gopalapuram, Madras; Shri M. K. Ranganatha Iyer, Retd. Engineer, Madras and Sri T. E. Sathagopachariar, Advocate, Tirupapuliyur.

With the help of a handsome donation of Rs. 6000 by Mrs. Sundarambal, wife of the late D. Balasubramanya Iyer

of B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, the Institute premises, the Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapa were enlarged and improved. The furniture was varnished, the hall electrified, and a *Bimbam* of H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Pīṭha, after whom the hall is named, established in a niche over the entrance to the hall.

The detailed report will be separately printed along with the statement of Accounts.

The budget for the next year was then approved, and Sri V. Swaminathan re-elected Auditor for the next year.

A resolution was passed congratulating the Rajah of Phaltan, a Fellow of the Institute, on his appointment as a Minister in the Govt. of Bombay, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a Vice-President of the Institute, on his appointment as India's Ambassador in Moscow.

THE XVTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, BOMBAY

The 15th All-India Oriental Conference met in Bombay under the joint auspices of the Bombay University and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and Vice-President of the Bombay Branch, R.A.S., was the Chairman of the Reception Commitee.

Messrs. K. M. Jhaveri and K. M. Munshi were Vice-Chairmen; Prof. H. D. Velankar, Local Secretary; Prof. G.M. Moraes, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar and Sri S. R. Tikekar, Jt. Secretaries and Prof. G. C. Jhala, Treasurer. The authorities of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay and Mr. & Mrs. K. M. Munshi were kind enough to accommodate the delegates at the St. Xavier's College, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. About 400 delegates representing about 60 institutions including Provincial Governments, Colleges, Museums, etc., attended the session, which went on for three days, 5th, 6th, and 7th November 1949.

The Conference was opened by H. E. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay. Dr. Susil Kumar De, Retd. Prof. of Sanskrit, Dacca University was the President-elect of the Conterence, and the following scholars presided over the 18 Sections into which the Conference was divided: Vedic-Sri Visva Bandhu Sastri, Visvesvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur; Iranian—Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Santiniketan; Classical Sanskrit—Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras University; Islamic Culture—Prof. Humayun Kabir, New Delhi (deputised by Sri Mahesh Prasad); Arabic and Persian—Moulavi Mahes Prasad, Benares; Pali and Buddhism—Prof R. D. Vadekar, Poona (deputised by Dr. P. V. Bapat); Prākṛt and Jainism—Muni Jinavijayaji, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; History—Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University; Archaeology— Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, D. G. of Archaeology, New Delhi; Indian Linguistics—Dr. Sidhesvar Varma, Nagpur; Dravidian Culture—Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (deputised by Prof. R. P. Setu Pillai); Philosophy and Religion— Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri of Travancore University; Technical Sciences and Fine Arts—Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi; Marathi—Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, Yeotmal; Gujarathi—Sri K. M. Munshi, Bombay; Hindi—Prof K. P. Misra of Benares (deputised by Dr. Mohan Singh); Kannada—Prof.

K. G. Kundangar of Belgaum; and Urdu—Dr. Mohan Singh of East Punjab University.

Owing to unavoidable circumstances, Dr. S. K. De, the General President of the Session, could not be present. The Vice-President of the Conference, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri presided in his place and conducted the Session.

In his *Welcome Address*, MM. Kane rererred to the part played in the past in the progress of Indological research by scholars of Bombay, Dr. Bhau Daji, Bhagwan Lal Indraji, K. T. Telang, S. P. Pandit etc.

In his *Opening Address*, H. E. the Governor of Bombay referred to the grants given by the Government of Bombay to various Indological Research Institutions and undertakings to the extent Rs. 81,000, besides the expenditure incurred by them in running the Deccan College Research Institute.

In his *Presidential Address*, which was read by the General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. De emphasised how "Oriental research had not received that attention in this country which was its birth right", how, speaking generally, much remained to be done for bringing Indian research work to the standard of the work done in the West, how it was necessary to give a "re-orientation to our century-old educational policy" and to realise "that no national system of education can fully succeed at the cost of alienation of what is deeprooted in national sentiment and culture", and how the time had come for the All-India Oriental Conference to expand into an Asiatic Conference of Oriental Learning.

Papers and Symposia.

Nearly 300 papers were read in the different sections, Classical Sanskrit leading as usual with about 70 papers.

There was a Symposium on Simplified Sanskrit in the Classical Sanskrit Section, and another on Sanskrit as the Terminological *Lingua franca* of India in the Indian Linguistics Section.

Lectures, Excursions and Entertainments.

Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed of the Hyderabad Arch. Dept. gave a lantern lecture on the Excavations at Panigiri. There was an excursion to the Elephanta Caves, and a vist to the Yoga-Research Institute, Kaivalyadhama, of Swami Kuvalayananda.

The Reception Committee had also arranged for Sanskrit, Marathi and Gujarathi dramas and variety entertainments.

Publication.

The most important feature of the 15th Session is the publication of an Index to the papers submitted to the first twelve Sessions of the Conference, compiled by Sri K. Venkateswara Sarma of Trivandrum.

Resolutions.

The Conference resolved to add a new Section called Greater India in the next Session and appointed a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister of India and discuss with him the question of establishing a Central Indological Institute and the expansion of the Conference into an All-Asian institution.

On the important question of manuscripts, the Conference reiterated its Darbhanga resolution urging the Govt. of India to set up a fullfledged Dept. of Mss. Survey, and requested the Central Govt. to make a beginning by setting apart an amount of not less than a lakh of Rupees annually for the appointment of a nucleus staff and purchase and collection of Mss.

Next Session.

Accepting the invitation of the Lucknow University, the Conference decided to hold its 16th Session in Lucknow in 1951.

Prof M. Hiriyanna of Mysore was elected General President of the 16th session, but he has declined owing to reasons of health and age. By a fresh election, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has been chosen General President.

The following have been elected Section-Presidents: Vedic—Dr. Surya Kanta, Jullundhar; Iranian—J. C. Tarapore, Bombay; Classical Sanskrit—Prof. K. K. Handiqui, Vice-Chancellor, Gauhati University; Indian History—Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra; Archaeology—Dr. Sankalia; Arabic & Persian—Dr. Nizamuddin, Hyderabad; Islamic Culture—Vikramjit Hasrat; Pali & Buddhism—Dr. B. C. Law; Prākṛt and Jainism—Pt. Sukhalalji; Religion & Philosophy—Dr. P. C. Bagchi; Indian Linguistics—Dr. Goda Varma, Trivandrum; Dravidian Culture—Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai; Technical Sciences & Fine Arts—Dr. Moti Chandra, Bombay.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching (Saṃskṛta-anuśīlana-viveka). By Prof. G. S. Huparikar, M.A., B.T., Rajaram College, Kolhapur. The Bharat Book-Stall, Kolhapur. Rs. 12-8.

Mr. Huparikar is to be congratulated in taking up for his special study a much neglected subject like the teaching of Sanskrit. Except for a few short studies, and a few books on the history of Sanskrit education in general, we have no exhaustive investigation into the methods of Sanskrit pedagogy. The present publication is therefore to be welcomed as the most extensive treatise on the subject. While it does deal with historical and cultural data pertaining to Sanskrit education, as also with the different ways in which, from our contact with modern teaching methods, we can improve Sanskrit teaching, the speciality of the book lies in pointing out, by detailed analysis and exposition, how the traditional method of exposition of Śāstraic treatises embodies sound principles calculated to be very effective in the mastering especially of advanced Sanskrit learning.

The subject has received the author's attention during many years of his experience as teacher in both the Arts College as well as the Training College. He no doubt agrees with recent writers on the subject like Apte that a judicious combination of the ancient and the modern direct methods, should be effected for making the learning of Sanskrit both easy and attractive; he is not blind to the defects of the old type of learning or teaching; in fact, in his desire to make his ideas reach the old-type Pandit-teachers, the author has given in the first part of his work a Sanskrit version of his findings; he rightly advocates a proper synthesis of and equal equipment in textual mastery and critical evaluation.

In a Preface of 16 pages, the author explains the history of his work on this subject, its need and importance, plan and scope. The detailed contents in the next seven pages give an idea of the wide field covered by this book of 700 pages..

In Part one, the Sanskrit section (92 pages) we have the comprehensive questionnaire on the teaching of Sanskrit which the author circulated among Sanskrit scholars and teachers.

This section not only presents succinctly in easy Sanskrit the discussions that follow in the English section, but contains also a few topics not touched upon in the English section.

Part II in English forms the main bulk of the work; it opens with the examination of the controversy, Classics *versus* Modern Subjects and answers the several objections brought against the former by the advocates of the latter. In sub-section (ii) which follows, the author engages himself in an exhaustive examination of the traditional Hindu methodology of education; he analyses the different forms of Sanskrit literature and the various Śāstras, Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāmsā in pacticular. To show that the ancients had an adequate appreciation of psychology and the aesthetic viewpoint, Nāṭya and Alaṅkāra Śāstras are analysed; in actual teaching, the Daṇḍānvaya and Khaṇḍānvaya methods are explained and the value of the latter, particularly from the modern point of view, is pointed out. Much useful material has been placed before us here from little known tracts like the Anvayabodhikā of Oṁkāradāsa, Ślokayojanikopāya of Raghurāma, and the Vyākhyānaprakriyā of Śaśideva.

The sub-section (iii) here deals with Reading and Recitation on the basis of Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra and the Śikṣās.

The last main part of the book is devoted to Practice and gives a number of practical and fruitful suggestions. Teachers may take particular note of an important point which the author rightly emphasises, *viz.*, using fully at the first stages the Tatsama Sanskrit vocabulary that is already available in the pupil's mother-tongue; some other points which too deserve adoption are that literature should be taught, keeping grammar as subservient to it; in grammar too actual forms rather than processes of formation should be inculcated; and as much Sanskrit actually spoken must be made use of in teaching, for a language is much easier learnt directly by listening to it, than from books. There are several other valuable hints given by by Prof. Huparikar, but this indication is enough to show that an indispensable aid to the study of Sanskrit Pedagogy has been provided by him in this book. The exhaustive Index in the end is highly useful.

V. R.

Journal of Oriental Studies. Svadhyaya Mandal, Anandasram, Pardi, P.O., Satara Dt. Edited by Sri N. A. Gore, M.A. Annual Subscription. Rs. 8. Vol. I, No. 1.

Pt. Satawalekar and his Svadhyaya Mandal are well-known in the field of Vedic publications. The Pandit has now started this quarterly to serve further the cause of research. It is being edited by Sri N. A. Gore, Principal, Kumta College, N. Kanara, who was previously editing the *Poona Orientalist.*

The inaugural number opens with an extract from the Press-statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in which he emphasised the value of Sanskrit literature and expressed his desire to promote research in and publication of its buried literature. The Editor then explains the history of the origin of the Journal and offers notes on some activities in the oriental field. Then follow reviews of books and messages.

In the section of articles, Sri P. K. Gode leads with the collection of references to glass bangles and glass vessels in Sanskrit literature, which seem to show their introduction from South Arabia and Central Asia. Among other contributions are Prof. H. D. Velankar's on Indra's Partnership with Viṣṇu (Ṛv. VIII. 100), Dr. H. R. Karnik's Indra-legends from the first Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha, and Prof. R. K. Choudhary's Hindu Contribution to Mathematics.

The issue contains also an edition by the editor of the minor poem called Cimanīcarita by Nīlakaṇṭha. This is an interesting minor poem on the romance in the harem of Allāha Vardī Khān Turkmān between the ladies and their Brahman tutor. It was composed in A.D. 1655 by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

We welcome this new venture of Pt. S. D. Satawalekar and Sri. N. A. Gore. It is hoped that this new research journal will develop some distinctive character and its sponsors will see to its proper organisation, good printing and prompt issue. There is a great deal of new enthusiasm in the Indological field for such ventures but without adequate resources or response; in fact many of our journals have ceased publication. Pt. Satawalekar is a person of great organising capacity, influence and energy and we hope Sri N. A. Gore will persevere to build up his new Journal of Oriental Studies.

V. R.

OBITUARY

Dr. Sten Konow

It is with very great sorrow that we receive the news that the veteran orientalist, Dr. Sten Konow of Oslo, Norway, passed away some time back. He was a versatile scholar and made valuable contributions in the fields of Śanskrit, Prākṛt, epigraphy and archaeology. Among his varied writings may be mentioned Indische Drama, Bashgali Dictionary, Saka Studies, Central Asian Fragments of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and an Unidentified Text of Nāgārjuna, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. II Pt. I and Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara.

V. R.

R. S. Venkatarama Sastri

Sanskrit activities in Madras have sustained a loss in the premature death on July 18, 1949, of Sri R. S. Venkatarama Sastri, M.A., Sanskrit Lecturer, Vivekananda College, Madras. The late Sastri was formerly Lecturer in the Annamalai University and in the Madras Sanskrit College. He was for a number of years a Secretary of the Madras Samskrta Academy. Noted for his musical renderings of Sanskrit verse, he was of great assistance in the production of Sanskrit plays. He published Sanskrit primers on the history of Sanskrit Literature and Comparative Philology and annoted editions of some of the standard College Texts in Sanskrit.

V. R.

V. Narayana Aiyar

The late V. Narayana Aiyar, a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, who passed away on 20th Nov. 1949, was a well-known figure in literary circles in Madras. An ardent student of both Sanskrit and Tamil, and a prolific writer both in English and Tamil, the late Narayana Aiyar distinguished himself as a journalist, scholar and public worker. He was, for several years, the Asst. Editor of the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University. Of the Madras Samskrta Academy, he was for a long time the Treasurer. In the series of popular religious booklets in the Kāmakoṭi Kośasthānam, he published a number of well-known hymns with Tamil translation.

V. R.

M. R. TELANG

We are very sorry to record here the passing away at the ripe old age of 90 of Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang, Retd. Shirastadar, Karwar, North Kanara.

M. R. Telang was an erudite Sanskrit scholar and specialised in Advaita Vedānta. He was, besides, a Vīṇā player trained under celebrated Ustads and a musicologist. Many titles had been bestowed on him like Sāhitya-Saṅgīta-Darśanācārya, Vidyāsāgar, Śāstra Vācaspati and Vīṇā Viśārada.

Among his publications, the following may be mentioned. He edited the Mahāvidyāviḍambana in the Gaekwad Oriental Series ; for the Nirnaya Sagar Press, he edited Mālatīmādhava, Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśīya, Bhāminīvilāsa, Gītagovinda, Pañcīkaraṇa, Advaitasiddhāntasārasaṁgraha, Nyāyalīlāvatī, Pramāṇamañjarī, Udbhaṭālaṅkara, Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā, Śabdavyāpāravicāra and Buddhibalakrīḍā (on chess). For the Gujarathi Printing Press, he published Tarkāmṛta, Vedāntasamjñāvalī, Bhedaratna, Advaitatattvarakṣaṇa and Cāṇakyanītisūtra. Ātmatattvaviveka, Sūktisudhā, Laghuvāsudevamanana are some of his other publications.

A Sanskrit composer, he wrote some kāvyas also; in music, he edited the Saṅgītaratnākara with Kallinātha's commentary in two volumes in the Ānandāśrama Series, the Saṅgitamakaranda in the Gaekwad Series, and a study on the 22 Śrutis.

He was compiling a dictionary of philosophical terms, and among his manuscript leavings is his valuable literary diary which is a store-house of research information gathered during his long studious life.

V. R.

PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who passed away in Washington on Nov. 24th, 1939, was Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Calcutta University. Besides works in the field of economics and political thought, Prof. Sarkar produced the following works in the field of Indian Culture : Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes, Hindu Achievements in Exact Science, and Positive Background of Hindu Sociology.

V. R.

DR. SIR HARI SINGH GOUR

We are very sorry to record here the passing away in the end of December, 1949, of the eminent jurist, educationist, statesman and scholar, Dr. Hari Singh Gour. He was 83 at the time of his demise.

Sir H. S. Gour was the first Vice-chancellor of the Delhi University. He was then elected Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University. He was a member of the Central Legislature for a long time and a delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He was Chairman of the Quinquennial Conference of the Universities of the British Empire. At the time of demise, he was a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.

Besides works in Law, he wrote the Renaissance of the East and the Spirit of Buddhism.

The crowning act of his public life was his founding at his birth place in C.P., Saugor, the Saugor University, with an endowment of 25 lakhs. His will gives another crore of Rupees to the same University of which he was founder-Vice-Chancellor and in whose site he desired to be cremated.

RAJASEVASAKTA V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR

On Dec. 25th 1949, passed away at Mysore Sri V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Retd. Registrar of the Mysore University. For many years Chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit, he was a deep student of philosoply, having imbibed his advaitic learning from the renowned Nṛsimha Bhāratī Swamigal of Śṛṅgerī. He was a profound believer in Advaita as a rational and scientific system and contributed many thoughtul papers on the subject. He was also Reader in Philosophy to his late Highness Krishna Raja Wodayar IV, Maharajah of Mysore, who sent Mr. Aiyar to England to attend the World Philosophic Conference. Among his contributions are Man's Interest in Philosophy-An Indian View, Avasthātraya, the Final Test of Truth, Modern Vedānta, Anubhava-Criterion of Truth, Śankara and Modern Critics, Reason or Revelation, etc.

V. R.

DR. S. R. U. SAVOOR.

Dr. S. R. U. Savoor, Retd. Director of Public Instrnction, Madras, who was a Life Member of the K. S. R. I., passed away prematurely at 58 on 1-2-50. He had a distinguished academic career at Oxford and was successively Principal of

the Govt. Colleges at Kumbhakonam and Palghat, Deputy Director, Principal of the Presidency College, Madras, and lastly Director of Public Instruction, Madras. He was simple, easy of access and helpful; deeply religious, he had a great fascination for men of spiritual realisation, many of whom he visited and with some of whom he had close personal contact.

V. R.

PANDIT M. THIMMAPPAYYA

I regret very much to write that Pandit M. Thimmappayya, one of the great veteran Kannada scholars, passed away on the night of 16th January 1950, due to heart-failure, at the residence of his son at Triplicane. He was aged 62.

The Pandit was an erudite scholar both in Kannada and Sanskrit, with a considerable grasp of current ideas and modern thought. He was an eminent poet and an untiring research worker. Among his several poetical works, "Sobagina balli" is an exquisite composition written in Acca-Kannada. His monumental works, such as "Nadoja Pampa", "Kavirajamarga Viveka,", and "Partisubba", testify to his great research acumen and industry. Besides these he produced several prose works of merit, and contributed valuable papers to leading Kannada periodicals. All this good work he did, at great inconvenience, his financial resourcess having been always slender. Sriman Thimmappayya was the Senior Kannada Pandit in the St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore, for about thirty years, and it is no exaggeration to say that reading under him as a student was drinking at the very spring of Kannada. He was an affectionate person held in high esteem throughout entire Karnataka. Connected with several literary and cultural associations, he was elected President of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat for one term, a rare distinction conferred by the Kannada literati on their eminent scholars. The void caused by his demise in the field of Kannada letters is hard to fill. May the Great Pandit's Soul rest in Peace!

M. MARIAPPA BHAT.

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பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த பக்கத் தானும்
அருளொடு புணர்ந்த வகற்சி யானும்
காம நீத்த பாலி னானு மென்று
இருபாற் பட்ட [1]வொன்பதின் றுறைத்தே.

Kūtir vēṉi l-eṉṟ-iru pācaṟi-k
Kātali ṉ-oṉṟi-k kaṇṇiya vakaiyiṉ-um
Ērōr kaḷavaḻi y-aṉṟi-k kaḷavaḻi-t
Tērōr tōṟṟiya veṉṟi-y-un tērōr
Veṉṟa kōmāṉ muṉ-ṟēr-k kuravai-y-um
Oṉṟiya marapiṟ piṉ-ṟēr-k kuravai-y-um
Perum-pakai tāṅkum vēli ṉ-āṉ-um
Arum-pakai tāṅku m-āṟṟa l-āṉ-um
Pullā vāḻkkai val-lāṇ pakkam-um
Ollār nāṇa-p periyavar-k kaṇṇi-c
Colliya vakaiyi ṉ-oṉṟoṭu puṇarntu-t
Tolluyir vaḻaṅkiya v-avi-p-pali yāṉ-um
Ollā r-iṭavayiṟ pulliya pāṅkiṉ-um
Pakaṭṭi ṉ-āṉ-u m-āvi ṉ-āṉ-un
Tukaṭṭapu ciṟappiṟ cāṉṟōr pakkam-um
Kaṭi-maṉai nītta pāliṉ kaṇ-ṇum
Eṭṭu-vakai nutaliya v-vai-y-akat t-āṉ-um
Kaṭṭamai y-oḻukkattu-k kaṇṇumai y-āṉ-um
Iṭai-y-il vaṇ-pukaḻ-k koṭaiyi ṉ-āṉ-um
Piḻaittōr tāṅkuṅ kāva l-āṉ-um
Poruḷoṭu puṇarnta pakka-t t-āṉ-um
Aruḷoṭu puṇarnta v-akaṟci y-āṉ-um
Kāma ṉitta pāli ṉ-āṉ-um-eṉṟu
Iru-pāṟ paṭṭa v-oṉpatiṉ ṟuṟaitt-ē

Vākai is of twice nine kinds of *tuṟai*, (the first nine with reference to *maṟam* (valour) and the second nine with reference to (*aṟam* or *dharma*) : (1) The undivided attention to war in the camps both in winter and in summer, (2) the success gained by the warriors in the battlefield similar to that achieved by the agriculturists in the threshing floor, (3) the dance before the king's chariot at the success of the warriors (4) the traditional dance behind his chariot, (5) the spear which was able to withstand the attacks of the foes, (6) the capacity of the warriors to withstand the strong attacks of the foes.

1. ஒன்பதின் (இளம்.) ; ஒன்பதிற்று (நச்.)

(7) able-bodied warriors fighting with the conviction that the physical body is transitory (8) throwing oneself in fire according to the tenets of the great which makes the foes feel ashamed, (9) taking hold of the enemy's country, (10) those winning fame through oxen and cows[1] (11) avoiding amorous look towards other's wives,[2] (12) the assembly of the great possessing eight qualities[3] (13) conduct according to *śāstras* (14) incessant liberality bringing rich fame, (15) protecting the evil doers forgetting their wrongs, (16) identifying oneself with his duties as householder, warrior, or recluse, (17) leaving off the ties of the family on account of the feeling that all are alike and (18) the stage when desire vanishes.

Note 1. Pin̲-tēr-k-kuravai refers, according to Iḷampūraṇar, to the dance by vir̲aliyar and according to Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, to the dance of Kor̲r̲avai and devils.

75. காஞ்சி தானே பெருந்திணைப் புறனே
பாங்கருஞ் சிறப்பிற் பன்னெறி யானும்
நில்லா வுலகம் புல்லிய நெறித்தே[4].

Kāñci tān̲-ē perun-tiṇai-p pur̲an̲-ē
Pāṅk-aruñ cir̲appir̲ pan̲-n̲er̲i y-ān̲-um
Nillā v-ulakam pulliya ner̲itt-ē.

Kāñci is the *pur̲an̲* of *perun-tiṇai* and deals with the unparallelled transitioriness of the worldly objects in all ways.

Note. 1. The expression *pāṅkarum* is taken by Iḷampūraṇar to mean 'having no equal' and by Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar to mean 'having the un-equalled *mōkṣa* for its aim.

Note 2. *Kāñci* is said to be the *pur̲an̲* of *perun-tiṇai* since it is outside the range of the five *pur̲attiṇai* mentioned above in the same way as *peruntiṇai* is outside the range of the reciprocal love signified by the five *akattiṇai*(:) *kur̲iñci, pālai, marutum, neytal* and *mullai*.

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1. Iḷampūraṇar splits into āvin̲ān̲, while Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar splits into māvin̲ān̲ and takes it to mean elephants and horses.
2. According to Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's reading it means abdicating the throne.
3. The eight qualities are: heredity, education, conduct, truthfulness, purity, impartiality, absence of envy, and non-greediness.
4. Naccin̲ārkkin̲yar takes the first line as one *sūtra* and the other two, as another.

What are the tuṟais of *kāñci*?

76. மாற்றருங் கூற்றஞ் சாற்றிய பெருமையும்
கழிந்தோ ரொழிந்தோர்க்குக் காட்டிய முதுமையும்
பண்புற வரூஉம் பகுதி நோக்கிப்
புண்கிழித்து முடியு மறத்தி னானும்
ஏமச் சுற்ற மின்றிப் புண்ணோன்
பேஎ யோம்பிய பேஎய்ப் பக்கமும்
இன்னனென் றிரங்கிய மன்னை யானும்
இன்னது பிழைப்பி னிதுவா கியரெனத்
துன்னருஞ் சிறப்பின் வஞ்சினத் தானும்
இன்னகை மனைவி பேஎய் புண்ணோன்
துன்னுதல் கடிந்த தொடாஅக் காஞ்சியும்
நீத்த கணவற் றீர்த்த வேலின்
பெயர்த்த மனைவி யாஞ்சி யானும்[1]
நிகர்த்துமேல் வந்த வேந்தனொடு முதுகுடி
மகட்பா டஞ்சிய மகட்பா லானும்
முலையு முகனுஞ் சேர்த்திக் கொண்டோன்[2]
தலையொடு முடிந்த நிலையொடு தொகைஇ
ஈரைந் தாகு மென்ப பேரிசை
மாய்ந்த மகனைச் சுற்றிய சுற்றம்
மாய்ந்த பூசன் மயக்கத் தானும்
தாமே யெய்திய[3] தாங்கரும் பையுளும்
கணவனொடு முடிந்த படர்ச்சி நோக்கிச்
செல்வோர் செப்பிய மூதா னந்தமும்
நனிமிகு சுரத்திடைக் கணவனை யிழந்து
தனிமகள் புலம்பிய முதுபா லையும்
கழிந்தோர் தேஎத்துக் கழிபட ருறீஇ
ஒழிந்தோர் புலம்பிய கையறு நிலையும்
காதலி யிழந்த தபுதார நிலையும்
காதல னிழந்த தாபத நிலையும்
நல்லோள் கணவனொடு நனியழற் புகீஇச்
சொல்லிடை யிட்ட மாலை[4] நிலையும்
அரும்பெருஞ் சிறப்பிற் புதல்வற் பயந்த[5]
தாய்தப வரூஉந் தலைப்பெய னிலையும்
மலர்தலை யுலகத்து மரபுநன் கறியப்

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1. பெயர்த்த மனைவி வஞ்சி யானும் (இளம்) ; உரையில் ஆஞ்சி என உளது. பேஎத்த மனைவி யானும் (நச்.)
2. செரண்டாள் (இளம்) ; கொண்டோன் (நச்.)
3. எய்திய (இளம்) ; ஏங்கிய (நச்.)
4. மாலை (இளம்) ; பாலை (நச்.)
5. அரும்...பயந்த (இளம்) ; ஆய் . . . பெயர (நச்.)

பலர்செலச் செல்லாக் காடு வாழ்த்தொடு
நிறையருஞ் சிறப்பிற் றுறையிரண் டுடைத்தே,

Māṟṟ-aruṅ kūṟṟañ cāṟṟiya perumaiy-um
Kaḻintō r-oḻin tōrkku-kāṭṭiya mutumaiy-um
Paṇp-uṟa varūum pakuti nōkki-p
Puṇ-kiḻittu muṭiyu maṟatti ṉ-āṉ-um
Ēma-c cuṟṟa m-iṉṟi-p puṇṇōṉ
Pēe y-ōmpiya pēey-p pakkam-um
Iṉṉaṉ-eṉ ṟ-iraṅkiya maṉṉai y-āṉ-um
Iṉṉatu piḻaippi ṉ-ituv-ā kiyar-eṉa-t
Tuṉ-ṉ-aruñ ciṟappiṉ vañciṉat t-āṉ-um
Iṉṉakai maṉaivi pēey puṇṇōṉ
Tuṉṉutal kaṭinta toṭāa-k kāñci-y-um
Nītta kaṇavar ṟīrtta vēliṉ
Peyartta maṉaivi yāñci y-āñ-um
Nikarttu-mēl vanta vēntaṉoṭu mutu-kuṭi
Makappā ṭ-añciya makaṭ-pā l-āṉ-um
Mulai-y-u mukaṉ-uñ cērtti-k-koṇṭōṉ
Talaiyoṭu muṭinta nilaiyoṭu tokaii
Īr-ain t-āku m-eṉpa pēr-icai
Māynta makaṉai-c cuṟṟiya cuṟṟam
Māynta pūcaṉ mayakka-t t-āṉ-um
Tām-ē -eytiya tāṅk-arum paiyuḷ-um
Kaṇavaṉoṭu muṭinta paṭarcci nōkki-c
Celvōr ceppiya mūtā nantam-um
Naṉi-miku curattiṭai-k kaṇavaṉai y-iḻantu
Taṉi-makaḷ pulampiya mutu-pā lai-y-um
Kaḻintōr tēettu-k kaḻi-paṭa r-uṟīi
Oḻintōr pulampiya kai-y-aṟu nilai-y-um
Kātali y-iḻanta taputāra nilai-y-um
Kātala ṉ-iḻanta tāpata nilai-y-um
Nallōḷ kaṇavaṉoṭu naṉi-y-aḻar pukīi-c
Colliṭai y-iṭṭa mālai nilai-y-um
Ārum-peruñ ciṟappiṟ putalvaṟ payanta
Tāy-tapa varūun talai-p-peya ṉilai-y-um
Malar-talai y-ulakattu marapu-naṉ k-aṟiya-p
Palar-cela-c cellā-k kāṭu vāḻttoṭu
Niṟai-y-aruñ ciṟappiṟ ṟuṟai-y-iraṇ ṭ-uṭaitt-ē

Kāñci has two sets of ten *tuṟais* each the first set consisting of (1) the greatness of the inevitability of death (*i.e.* the ransitioness of the physical body), (2) the inevitability of he old age mentioned to the young by the old (*i.e.* the transi-

toriness of youth) (3) the bravery to die wounded in battle considering the nature of the wordly life, (4) the state of the wounded being attended to by devils in the absence of loving[1] relatives. (5) the state of being pitied at the fallen state by others mentioning his previous prosperous condition, (6) the taking of terrible oath by one that he would do this if he fails to do the task undertaken (7) the wife who previously met him with sweet smile not touching him in the wounded state fearing the devils that surround him, (8) the magnanimity of the wife killing herself with the spear left by the dying husband[2] (9) the state of people not willing to give their daughters in marriage to enemies who offered their hand in consideration of the dignity of their family and (10) the state of wife dying bringing the head of the deceased husband close to her breasts and face; the second set consisting of the (1) the confusion with lamentations of mothers surrounding the dead bodies of their famous sons or the confusion with lamentations of people at the death of mothers round the dead bodies of their famous sons[3] (2) the grievous pain experienced by themselves (*i.e.* by wives either in prison or in the absence of relatives). (3) the extreme delight experienced by the goers-by on seeing the wife's death along with her husband, (4) the wife's bewailing the loss of the husband in the middle of the forest, (5) the helpless state of the dependents and others at the death of their masters, (6) the pitiable state of the husband at the loss of the wife, (7) the pitiable widowed life of the wife at the loss of the husband, (8) the words expressed by the wife to those who stood in the way of her entering the funeral pyre of her husband (9) the state of the mother ready to die at the glorious death of her son in the battlefield or the state of the mother ready to die on behalf of honour at the behaviour of her son, and (10) the eulogy of the cremation ground which stands firm though witnessing many disappearing from this wide world.

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1. Naccinārkkiniyar takes *ēmam* to mean 'night',

2. According to Naccinārkkiniyar's reading, the line means 'the state of the wife fearing at the sight of her dead husband not being able to distinguish his body on account of the bruises with spear'.

3. When *cuṟṟa māynta* is split as *cuṟṟam āynta*, the former meaning should be taken; if it is split as *cuṟṟam māynta*, the latter meaning should be taken.

77. பாடாண் பகுதி கைக்கிளைப் புறனே
நாடுங் காலை நாலிரண் டுடைத்தே.
Pāṭāṇ pakuti kaikkiḷai-p puṟaṉ-ē
Nāṭuṅ kālai nāl-iraṇ ṭ-uḷaitt-ē.

Pāṭāṇṭiṇai is the puṟaṉ of *kaikkiḷai* and is, on examination, of eight kinds.

Note. 1. Iḷampūraṇar tells us that *pāṭāṇ* is taken to be the *puṟaṉ* of *kaikkiḷai* for the following reasons: (1) *Kaikkiḷai* is not restricted to a particular region; so also *pāṭāṇ* is not restricted to any individual. (2) *Kaikkiḷai* is one sided love; so also *pāṭāṇ* is mostly connected with the profit gained by the poet. *Pāṭāṇ* has the melody type called *centiram* as *kaikkiḷai*. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar tells us that in *pāṭāṇ*, the hero of the poem wants eulogy and the poet, personal profit. Since both of them are not interrelated, *pāṭāṇ* is considered to be the *puṟaṉ* of *kaikkiḷai*.

Note. 2. The eight kinds are, according to Iḷampūraṇam, (1) praise to God (2) praise to kings (3) praise of auspicious occasions (4) advice (5) directing a poet to go to a patron (6) the kinds of reward to poets (7) reference to *kaikkiḷai* and (8) censure; and according to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, all those mentioned there with reference to *pāṭāṇ* and all connected with the six *tiṇais* mentioned above and *potuviyal*.

Note. 3. In similar sutras above 6, 8, 12, 15, 18, only the nature of the respective *tiṇai* is mentioned and not its classification. But in sūtra 1 the classification is mentioned and it is followed by the sūtra which states the classification in detail. But here it is not clearly stated.

78. அமரர்கண் முடியு மறுவகை யானும்
புரைதீர் காமம் புல்லிய வகையினும்
ஒன்றன் பகுதி யொன்று மென்ப.
Amararkaṇ muṭiyu m-aṟu-vakai y-āṉ-um
Purai-tīr kāmam pulliya vakaiyiṉ-um
Oṉṟaṉ pakuti y-oṉṟu-m-eṉpa.

In the six kinds of verses with reference to *dēvas* and verses with reference to righteous pleasures, one will overlap with another.

Note. 1. What are the six kinds referred to in line 1 is not mentioned in the text. Iḷampūraṇar says that the six kinds are *koṭi-nilai, kantaḻi, vaḷḷi, pulavar-āṟṟuppaṭai, pukaḻtal* and *paraval*. Of them two are mentioned in *sūtra* 22, three in sūtra 27 and one in sūtra 30.

Note 2. Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, on the other hand, takes the *sūtra* to mean that *pāṭāṇ* is seen in verses with reference to six godly objects-sages, brahmans, cows, rain, crowned kings and world and with reference to requests of low order.

Note. 3. *Purai* is taken to mean *fault* by Iḷampūraṇar anb *superiority by* Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar.

79. வழக்கியன் மருங்கின் வகைபட நிலைஇப்
பரவலும் புகழ்ச்சியுங் கருதிய பாங்கினும்
முன்னோர் கூறிய குறிப்பினுஞ் செந்துறை
வண்ணப் பகுதி வரைவின் றாங்கே.

Vaḻakkiyan̲ maruṅkin̲ vakai-paṭa nilaii-p
Paraval-um pukaḻcci-y-uṅ karutiya pāṅkin̲-um
Mun̲n̲ōr kūṟiya kuṟippin̲-uñ centuṟai
Vaṇṇa-p pakuti varai-v-in̲ ṟ-āṅk-ē.

The rhythm of the melody type *centuṟai* is not to be avoided in the *paraval* (eulogy in person *paḻiccu* (eulogy in absence) and the places suggested by the predecessors wherever they are found in usage.

Note. 1. Tne word *mun̲n̲ōr* in the *sūtra* suggests that the classificatlon of *puṟattiṇai* also was done by the predecessors of Tolkāppiyan̲ār.

80. காமப் பகுதி கடவுளும் வரையார்
ஏனோர் பாங்கினு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Kāma-p pakuti kaṭavuḷ-um varaiyār
Ēn̲ōr pāṅkin̲-u m-en̲man̲ār pulavar.

Learned men say that, in erotic verses and in verses which should be concerned with human beings, gods are not prohibited.

81. குழவி மருங்கினுங் கிழவ தாகும்.
Kuḻavi maruṅkin̲-uṅ kiḻava t-ākum

Erotic verses may be with reference to children.

82. ஊரொடு தோற்றமு முரித்தென மொழிப
வழக்கொடு சிவணிய வகைமை யான.
Ūroṭu tōṟṟam-u m-uritt-en̲a moḻipa
Vaḻakkoṭu civaṇiya vakaimai y-ān̲-a.

Erotic verse in *pāṭāṇ* may be with reference to the inhabitants of villsges if it is in conformity with usage.

83, மெய்ப்பெயர் மருங்கின் வைத்தனர் வழியே.
Mey-ppeyar maruṅkin̲ vaittan̲ar vaḻi-y-ē.

Predecessors have said that the true names of heroes may be mentioned in erotic verses with reference to *pāṭāṇ*.

84. கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி யென்ற
வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன மூன்றும்
கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே.

Koṭi-nilai kantaḻi vaḷḷi y-eṉṟa
Vaṭu-nīṅku-ciṟappiṉ mutalaṉa mūṉṟum
Katavuḷ vāḻttoṭu kaṇṇiya varum-ē.

The three which are considered spotless-sun, Brahma and Moon may be invoked.

85. கொற்ற வள்ளை யோரிடத் தான.
Koṟṟa vaḷḷai y-ōr-iṭat t-āṉa.

Koṟṟavaḷḷai too may be taken under *pāṭāṇ* is some places.

Note. 1. Ñacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes *ōr-iṭam* to refer to human beings.

How is *pāṭāṇ* classified ?

86. கொடுப்போ ரேத்திக் கொடாஅர்ப் பழித்தலும்
அடுத்தூர்ந் தேத்திய வியன்மொழி வாழ்த்தும்
சேய்வரல் வருத்தம் வீட வாயில்
காவலர்க் குரைத்த கடைநிலை யானும்
கண்படை கண்ணிய கண்படை நிலையும்
கபிலை கண்ணிய வேள்வி நிலையும்
வேலை[1] நோக்கிய விளக்கு நிலையும்
வாயுறை வாழ்த்துஞ் செவியறி வுறூஉவும்
ஆவயின் வரூஉம் புறநிலை வாழ்த்தும்
கைக்கிளை வகையொடு உளப்படத் தொகைஇ
தொக்க நான்குமுள வென மொழிப.

Koṭuppō r-ētti-k koṭāar-p paḻittal-um
Aṭutt-ūrn t-ēttiya v-iyaṉmoḻi vāḻtt-um
Cēy-varal varuttam vīṭa vāyil
Kāvalark k-uraitta kaṭai-nilai y-āṉ-um
Kaṇ-paṭai kaṇṇiya kaṇ-paṭai nilai-y-um
Kapilai kaṇṇiya vēḷvi nilai-y-um
Vēlai nōkkiya viḷakku nilai-y-um
Vāy-uṟai vāḻttuñ cevi-y-aṟi-v-uṟū-um
Ā-vayiṉ varūum puṟa-nilai vāḻttum
Kaikkiḷai vakaiyō ṭ-uḷappaṭa-t tokaii-t
Tokka nāṉku m-uḷa v-eṉa moḻipa.

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1. வேலை (இளம்) ; வேலின் (நச்.)

They say that the *tuṟais* of *pāṭāṇ* are (1) eulogising the giver and reviling the non-giver (2) eulogising a king in his close proximity with reference to the nature of his ancestors and himself (3) the scene where words are sent to the king through the gatekeeper enumerating the miseries undergone in the long journey from home (4) suggesting to the king that it is time to go to sleep, (5) the sacrifice where brown cows are freely given away (6) lighting the lamp to commemmorate the victory of the spear or the height of the flame of the lamp like that of the spear (7) salutary advice to a king by wise men *nolen volens* (?) (8) instructing the king in the path of virtue (9) benediction upon a king, invoking his deity to bless him and his descendants and (10) interceding etc., during *kaikkiḷai.*

What is the other kind of classification ?

87. தாவி னல்லிசை கருதிய கிடந்தோர்க்குச்
சூத ரேத்திய துயிலெடை நிலையும்
கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் விறலியும்
ஆற்றிடைக் காட்சி யுறழத் தோன்றிப்
பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெறாஅர்க் கறிவுறீஇச்
சென்றுபய னெதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்
சிறந்த [1]நாளினிற் செற்ற நீக்கி
பிறந்த நாள்வயிற் பெருமங் கலமும்
சிறந்த சீர்த்தி மண்ணு மங்கலமும்
நடைமிகுத் தேத்திய குடைநிழன் மரபு
மாணார்ச் சுட்டிய வாண்மங் கலமும்
மன்னெயி லழித்த மண்ணுமங் கலமும்
பரிசில் கடைஇய கடைக்கூட்டு நிலையும்
பெற்ற பின்னரும் பெருவள னேத்தி
நடைவயிற் றோன்றிய விருவகை விடையும்
அச்சமு முவகையு மெச்ச மின்றி
நாளும் புள்ளும் பிறவற்றி னிமித்தமும்
காலங் கண்ணிய வோம்படை யுளப்பட
ஞாலத்து வரூஉ நடக்கையது குறிப்பின்
கால மூன்றொடு கண்ணிய வருமே.

Tāvi ṉal-l-l-icai karutiya kiṭantōrkku-c
Cūta r-ēttiya tuyil-eṭai nilai-y-um
Kūttar-um pāṇar-um porunar-um viṟali-y-um
Āṟṟ-iṭai-k kāṭci y-uṟaḻa-t tōṉṟi-p
Peṟṟa peru-vaḷam peṟāark k-aṟivuṟī-c
Ceṉṟu-paya ṉ-etira-c coṉṉa pakkam-um

1. நாளினின் (இளம்) ; நாளணி (நச். பா)

Ciṟanta nāḷiṉiṟ ceṟṟa nīkki-p
Piṟanta nāḷ-vayiṟ peru-maṅ kalam-um
Ciṟanta cīrtti maṉṉu maṅkalam-um
Naṭai-mikut t-ēttiya kuṭai-nilaṉ marapum
Māṇār-c cuṭṭiya vāṇ-maṅ kalamum
Maṉ-ṉ-eyi l-aḻitta maṇṇu-maṅ kalam-um
Paricil kaṭaiiya kaṭai-k-kūṭṭu nilai-y-um
Peṟṟa piṉṉar-um peru-vaḷa ṉ-ētti
Naṭai-vayiṟ ṟōṉṟiya v-iru-vakai viṭai-y-um
Accamu m-uvaki-y-u m-ecca m-iṉṟi
Nāḷ-um puḷ-ḷ-um piṟavaṟṟi ṉimittam-um
Kālaṅ kaṇṇiya v-ōmpaṭai y-uḷa-p-paṭa
Ñālattu varūum naṭakkaiyatu kuṟippiṉ
Kāla mūṉṟoṭu kaṇṇiya varum-ē.

The following connected with the past, present and the future in this earth are also taken as the *tuṟai*s of *pāṭāṇ*:—(1) bards singing about the king's spotless good fame to wake him, while asleep, up; (2) *kūttar*, *pāṇar*, *porunar* and *viṟaliyar* who have received presents directing those who have not received them and telling them what they have received[1] (3) celebrations on birth days by nullifying the punishments[2] (4) purificatory bath bringing fame; (5) bringing out the excellence of royal umbrella giving shade to many; (6) giving adorations to the spear which brought the foes under control; (7) purifactory bath of the king after capturing the enemy's fort; (8) the poets etc mentioning their wants and getting the rewards[3] (9) eulogising the prosperous condition of the king after receiving the reward and taken leave of the taking either on his own initiative or on the initiative of the king; and (10) wishing that the king may be free from the source of fear, delight and want which is foreboded by the stars, birds and other omens.

Puṟattiṇai-y-iyal ends.

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1. Nāccinārkkiṉiyar takes the meaning 'recluses directing the house-holders how to get *mōkṣa*' along with the above meaning, in lines 3-6 in the sūtra. He might have so interpreted the lines since otherwise, this *lakṣaṇa* could not hold good for the *Tirumukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

2. Naccinārkkiṉiyar interprets the lines 7-8 thus: weaving white dress and doing good deeds undoing the punishments awarded on previous occasions.

3. According to Naccinārkkiṉiyam, *kaṭai-k-kūṭṭunilai* means 'the state of accomplishing one's task by standing att he entrance.'

स्वगृहे शाक्यभिक्षुण्या वञ्चयित्वा जिघांसितः ।
दुःस्वप्नबोधितस्तस्माद् विदिशाभिमुखो ययौ ॥ १८३ ॥

सुहृद्भिः सहितो भूत्वा बन्धनागारवर्तिनम् ।
बन्धुदत्तं ततो हृत्वा जगामोज्जयिनीं प्रति ॥ १८४ ॥

बन्धुदत्तगृहं गत्वा तस्मिन् भरतकन्यया ।
अनुरक्तः स रागिण्या रेमे रङ्गपताकया ॥ १८५ ॥

ततो विनयवत्याख्यामुद्याने नृपकन्यकाम् ।
दृष्ट्वा दृष्टिविषेणान्तः स्पष्टं दष्ट इवाभवत् ॥ १८६ ॥

कन्दर्पसर्पदष्टान्तर्दष्टा दर्वीकरेण च ।
सा तु शूद्रकसंस्पर्शेनोभयस्मादजीव्यत ॥ १८७ ॥

ततः कन्यापुरं गच्छन् रात्रौ हृच्छयमूर्च्छया ।
स्त्रैणाध्यक्षजनैः क्रुद्धैर्वध्योऽसावित्यबध्यत ॥ १८८ ॥

ततः कथञ्चिन्निर्मुक्तो मृत्युप्रायादपायतः ।
धात्रीमुखेन तां कन्यामपहृत्य ययौ पुरात् ॥ १८९ ॥

मार्गे माळवराजेन प्रसह्यापहृतां प्रियाम् ।
उपलभ्य तृषा तस्याः पानीयार्थी ययौ स्वयम् ॥ १९० ॥

विना विनयवत्यासौ गच्छन् कृच्छ्रमनीयत ।
वने वनचरव्रातैः कारां चोरचमूपतेः ॥ १९१ ॥

तत्कन्ययानुभूयासावार्यदास्यभिधानया ।
अमुच्यत तया च्छन्नं बन्धनाद् बद्धरागया ॥ १९२ ॥

ततः प्रियां प्रति भ्राम्यन् विन्ध्यकाननलुब्धकात् ।
लीनां विप्रकुले क्वापि श्रुत्वा सत्वरमभ्ययात् ॥ १९३ ॥

ततोऽपि मथुरां नीतामाकर्ण्य मथुरां ययौ ।
द्विजेन स्वतनूजायाः सखित्वे वर्ततामिति ॥ १९४ ॥

तत्र स्नातः सरस्तोये निहितस्तेयदर्शिनः ।
पुरुषाश्चोर इत्येनं निन्युर्बद्धभुजद्वयम् ॥ १९५ ॥

दृष्ट्वा विनयवत्येनं भर्तारं चोरचिह्नितम् ।
अमात्येन सखीपित्रा क्षणं मृत्योर्न्यवर्तयत् ॥ १९६ ॥

उपहारकृते रात्रौ पशुवन्मारितोऽप्यसौ ।
न जहौ जीवितं भूयः प्रेयस्या समगच्छत ॥ १९७ ॥

स तु मा[1]तुल एवासीदास्ते यस्या गृहे प्रिया ।
तत्कन्यामपि तन्वङ्गीमुपयेमे स यज्ञदाम् ॥ १९८ ॥

मथुरेन्द्रदुहित्रासौ रमितः शूरसेनया ।
[2]वसन् मृत्युमुखप्रायानपायानयमन्वभूत् ॥ १९९ ॥

बहूनां विपदामन्ते विगृह्य स्वातिना सह ।
बालमित्रमहत्वैनं जीवग्राहमजिग्रहत् ॥ २०० ॥

सुहृद्भिर्दयिताभिश्च प्राचितप्रेमभिः सह ।
[3]शतं समाः क्ष्मामेकः शशास चतुरर्णवाम् ॥ २०१ ॥

ब्रह्मरक्षोनियुद्धेन मृत्वैक[4]परमेश्वरः ।
धर्मपालस्य नामासीत् कामपालाख्यया सुतः ॥ २०२ ॥

स कदाचित् सखीमध्ये क्रीडन्तीं नृपकन्यकाम् ।
पश्यन् कान्तिमतीं नाम श्रान्तां कन्दुकलीलया ॥ २०३ ॥

अभिपन्नशरीरोऽभूदशरीरशरव्यताम् ।
अनुक्त्वा विकृतिं तस्यास्त्वगोचरतया गिराम् ॥ २०४ ॥

विक्रीणाना गुणांस्तस्य प्राणादिधनमात्मनः ।
मनोविनिमयं कृत्वा कन्या कन्यागृहं गता ॥ २०५ ॥

असुभ्योऽपि गरीयस्यः सोमदेवीसुलोचने ।
इन्द्रसेनेति तत्सख्यः स्मरवेगमगोपयन् ॥ २०६ ॥

कामपालः प्रियं दृष्ट्वा सखीभिश्चाभिनन्दितः ।
तया प्रहितमेकान्ते कामलेखमलक्षयत् ॥ २०७ ॥

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1. लव. ख. ग.
2. याव. ख-
3. रममाणः. क.
4. व. ग.

स्मरमन्थरया बुद्ध्या रचितानि नतभ्रुवा ।
अनङ्गपत्रे तत्रासन् मधुराण्यक्षराण्यपि ॥ २०८ ॥

“मुग्धा पञ्जरहंसी चन्द्रं निर्वर्ण्य पुण्डरीकधिया ।
स्फुरितानि तानि तान्यप्यभिलाषबलात्कृता कुरुते” ॥ २०९ ॥

अमन्दानन्दसन्दोहमनुभूयेति वाङ्मयम् ।
मृदु[1]वल्कलमालूय प्रतिलेखमथाकरोत् ॥ २१० ॥

कान्तिमत्यपि चिन्ताब्धेस्तरणोपायदर्शिनीम् ।
सखीव प्रियसंदिष्टां तस्मिन्नार्यामवाचयत् ॥ २११ ॥

“यद्यभिलषसि द्विजवरमवैहि तं राजहंसि! जलमध्ये ।
गतमेव चरणगोचरमचिरात् प्रतिमामुखेनापि” ॥ २१२ ॥

तद्गुणस्मरणेनास्यामसह्यज्वरकारिणी[2] ।
यदसौ नृपकन्यायामनार्यं कृतमार्यया ॥ २१३ ॥

इन्द्रसेनाख्यया सख्या कृत्वा [3]पुस्तस्मराकृतिम् ।
तत्सग्रहच्छलेनासावन्तःपुरमनीयत ॥ २१४ ॥

तत्राविदितनिर्वृत्तक्षत्रोचितकरग्रहः ।
रममाणः स तास्तित्र उपयेमे प्रियासखीः ॥ २१५ ॥

आपन्नसत्त्वा सा देवी प्रच्छन्नं सुषुवे सुतम् ।
रात्रौ पितृवनं नीत्वा त्यक्तः स शबरस्त्रिया ॥ २१६ ॥

क्षुधार्तया पिशाच्यैष भक्ष्यमाणः स्वसूनुना ।
रुद्धो मे प्रातराशोऽस्त्वित्युभयोः कलहे सति ॥ २१७ ॥

राक्षिदर्शनसम्भ्रान्त्या रहस्यं विवृतं तया ।
अन्तःपुरान्निबध्यासौ वध्यभूमिमनीयत ॥ २१८ ॥

तस्मिन् बन्धनमेवास्याच्छिनन्मारणसम्भ्रमे ।
ततो निघ्नत एवासौ निहत्य प्रययौ स्वयम् ॥ २१९ ॥

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1. पल्लव क. 2. णा. ख. 3. गुप्त ख. ग.

बह्वामिषतया तस्मिन्नपहाय शिशुं ययौ ।
सपुत्रा च पिशाची सा विभाता च विभावरी ॥ २२० ॥

इयं तारावली तत्र प्रयान्ती शिशुमग्रहीत् ।
अस्याः पुत्र इवामुष्मिन् भावहेतुर्निशम्यताम् ॥ २२१ ॥

शौनकः शूद्रको भूत्वा कामपालोऽद्य वर्तते ।
बन्धुमत्या विनयवत्यभिन्ना कान्तिमत्यपि ॥ २२२ ॥

यज्ञदा वेदिमत्येव सोमदेवी च वर्तते ।
हंसावली शूरसेना सैवान्ते च सुलोचना ॥ २२३ ॥

धात्रेयिका नन्दिनिकेत्यनुरक्ता च शौनकम् ।
मध्ये रङ्गपताकासीदिन्द्रसेना च जायते ॥ २२४ ॥

या सा गोपवधूः पूर्वं शौनकेनाग्निसंस्कृता ।
आर्यदास्यपि सैवासीद् भूयस्तारावली च सा ॥ २२५ ॥

अस्यामेवार्यदासीत्वे जातः सोऽयं कुमारकः ।
शूद्रकादद्रिसाराख्यः पुत्रस्नेहस्तु तत्कृतः ॥ २२६ ॥

अर्थपाल इति व्यक्तं मन्नामैव भवत्वयम् ।
वर्धयित्री वसुमती तत्तस्यै दीयतामसौ ॥ २२७ ॥

इत्यादिष्टा धनेशेन प्रत्यानेतुमिहागता ।
इत्यर्पयित्वा हस्ते मे तत्रैवान्तरियाय सा ॥ २२८ ॥

मुदितवान् नृपतिः स निशम्य गा-
मुदितवागमृतैः सह मन्त्रिभिः ।
अनयदूषितबुद्धिरिमां निशा-
मनयदूढमदः सुतवार्तया ॥ २२९ ॥

इति दशभिरमीभिः प्रत्यहं वर्धमानैः
शशिनमिव विशेषैः कान्तिमद्भिः कलानाम् ।
ललितगुणविशेषं वीक्षमाणः कुमारान्
नृपतिरवजगाहे मध्यमानन्दसिन्धौ ॥ २३० ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥

अत्राश्रमे मृगैः सार्धं वर्धमानेषु सूनुषु ।
वामदेवमुपासीने नृपे च सचिवैः सह ॥ १ ॥

वाजिरत्नं गजेन्द्रं च प्रशस्ता बडवा अपि ।
आदायाभिगतो व्याघ्रदमनः समदृश्यत ॥ २ ॥

भद्रवाहनमश्वं च हेमकूटमपि द्विपम् ।
पश्यन्नुत्पत्तिमाश्चर्यामित्यूचे मुनिरेनयोः ॥ ३ ॥

आदिसर्गे पुरा स्रष्टुर्व्यशीर्यन्ताश्रुबिन्दवः ।
होमधूमस्पृशो नेत्रात् तत्राश्वा बडवा अपि ॥ ४ ॥

पुरुषश्च ततो जातः स सुराणामथाध्वरे ।
प्रनष्टां वाचमन्वेष्टुं जगाम जलवर्त्मना ॥ ५ ॥

मत्स्यापदेशात् तं देवा ददृशुर्जलचारिणम्[1] ।
सुरप्रार्थनया गत्वा यज्ञसाहाय्यकं व्यधात् ॥ ६ ॥

विश्वावसुमुखैर्दिव्यैः सेव्यमानः कदाचन ।
विलम्ब्यागमनं तेभ्यः स शुश्रावेन्द्रसेनया ॥ ७ ॥

अथेन्द्रपदमादित्सुस्तपस्यन्नप्सरःस्त्रिया ।
शक्रप्रेषितया हित्वा तपो रेमे मनोज्ञया ॥ ८ ॥

तयोरन्योन्यशापेन मृग्युलूकत्वमीयुषोः ।
अनेकशतमश्वानामण्डात् पक्षवतामभूत् ॥ ९ ॥

शालिहोत्रो मुनिः पश्यन् देवसस्यविलोपिनः ।
शिष्यवत् परिगृह्याश्वान् पक्षच्छेदमथाकरोत् ॥ १० ॥

पित्रोः स्वरूपलाभादीनुपलभ्य बहून् वरान् ।
तुरगास्ते सुरेन्द्राणां बभूवुर्वाहनान्यमी ॥ ११ ॥

पक्षच्छेदकृतामर्षैर्मक्ष्यमाणमृषिं हयैः ।
दृष्ट्वाहसन्नप्सरसः क्रुद्धस्ताः शप्तवान् मुनिः ॥ १२ ॥

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1. यायिनम्, क.

बडबा भवतेत्येष प्रतिशप्तश्च वज्रिणा ।
अश्वयोनौ पतिस्तासां भवानेव भवत्विति ॥ १३ ॥

ता एता बडवाः सोऽयं तुरगश्च मुनीश्वरः ।
राजवाहनवाहानां शापश्च प्रसवावधिः ॥ १४ ॥

ऐरावतसुतो हस्ती [1]त्वत्प्रसादाद् भुवं गतः ।
मालवेन्द्राहवादूर्ध्वं वनेऽस्मिन् विहरत्यसौ ॥ १५ ॥

इत्यादिश्य कथामेतां जगाम स्वाश्रमं मुनिः ।
नृपश्च परया प्रीत्या गजाश्वबलमग्रहीत् ॥ १६ ॥

ततः सर्वे यथाकालं कृतोपनयनादयः ।
अवर्धन्त मृगेन्द्राणां किशोरा इव दारकाः ॥ १७ ॥

तेभ्यः सर्वासु विद्यासु धनुर्वेदे कलासु च ।
विशिष्टः षोडशं वर्षं जगाहे राजवाहनः ॥ १८ ॥

आशाविजयकालोऽयं कुमारस्येति मन्त्रिणा ।
विज्ञापिते बलाद् राज्ञाप्यन्वज्ञायि[2] हराज्ञया ॥ १९ ॥

वामदेवः प्रयाणाय प्रणमन्तमनन्तरम् ।
उपहूयैवमेकान्ते राजवाहनमब्रवीत् ॥ २० ॥

कुमार! ज्ञातवेद्येषु त्वादृशेष्वनुशासनम् ।
श्रम एवापि तु स्नेहाद् वाच्यमेव हितं वचः ॥ २१ ॥

रुध्यतामिन्द्रियग्रामः परग्रामस्ततस्त्वया ।
जीयतामरिषड्वर्गः प्रथमं तदनु द्विषः ॥ २२ ॥

सन्ध्यादिभिर्गुणैः षड्भिः शक्तिसिद्ध्युदयादिभिः ।
साध्यं विधिवदारब्धैः स्वामित्वं विजिगीषुणा ॥ २३ ॥

विशुद्धामात्यमित्रेण श्रुतिशास्त्रानुरोधिना ।
अद्वितीयातपत्रेयं त्वत्पित्रा रक्षिता क्षितिः ॥ २४ ॥

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1. यत्प्रभावाद्. ग. 2. पि. ग.

असकृत् परिभूतेन मानसारेण मानिना ।
हरप्रसादादद्यैषा विजित्य स्वसुते कृता ॥ २५ ॥

मानसारो वनं गन्तुं प्रवृत्तोऽपि निजे गृहे ।
वसत्यवन्तिसुन्दर्या दुहितुर्वरलिप्सया ॥ २६ ॥

दर्पसारः सुतः श्याले प्रचण्डे चण्डवर्मणि ।
कृत्वा राज्यं हरावासे गिरावद्य तपस्यति ॥ २७ ॥

आत्माधीनां विधेहि त्वं विजित्य वसुधामिमाम् ।
एतावतीयमायुष्मन् ! विजेतव्या वसुन्धरा ॥ २८ ॥

सप्तद्वीपार्णवाकीर्णा सप्तगोत्राचलाकुला ।
नववर्षवृतेयं ते भविष्यति वशे क्षितिः ॥ २९ ॥

स्थितः सर्वहितायोर्व्यां विष्णोरंशस्त्वदात्मना ।
मासद्वयावधिर्नूनं भावी परिभवश्च ते ॥ ३० ॥

श्वः प्रशस्तमहश्चन्द्रे रेवतीयोगशालिनि ।
मुहूर्ते विजयायास्मात् सुहृद्भिः सह गम्यताम् ॥ ३१ ॥

इत्थं यद्यन्मुनिर्विद्वान् मेधाविनमबूबुधत् ।
अबुध्यततरां तत्तत् कुमारः किं बहूच्यते ॥ ३२ ॥

ततः कुमारः प्रारेभे कृतप्रास्थानिकक्रियः ।
वामदेवं नमस्कृत्य प्रस्थानाय परेऽहनि ॥ ३३ ॥

आर्द्रीभवन्तौ ध्यायन्तौ मङ्गलानि पदे पदे ।
प्रणतः पितरौ ताभ्याममुच्यत कथञ्चन ॥ ३४ ॥

अनुज्ञाप्य गुरून् सर्वान् कृत्वा शबरदारकम् ।
सुहृदं सिंहदमनं गुरूणां परिरक्षणे ॥ ३५ ॥

अपहारमुखैर्मित्रैरमित्रजयकाङ्क्षिभिः ।
जैत्रेण सुमुहूर्तेन प्रतस्थे दिशमुत्तराम् ॥ ३६ ॥

तेषां दक्षिणतः कोऽपि ब्रह्मचारी द्विजोत्तमः ।
शरत्समृद्धिसम्बन्धं वसन्ततिलकं जगौ ॥ ३७ ॥

सप्तच्छदस्तबकचामरधूननोऽयं
जातो मरुद् घनसितं वियदातपत्रम् ।
हारप्रसादि सरिदम्बु सरोजलीलः
कालोऽयमुद्भवति नन्दितराजहंसः ॥ ३८ ॥

इत्यन्यानि च लब्ध्वा ते सुनिमित्तानि सर्वतः ।
वैखानसकुले निन्युर्दिनं नातिदवीयसि ॥ ३९ ॥

सुमतिप्रमुखास्तस्मिन्नमात्याः स्वसुतानपि ।
आत्माधिकारसम्बद्धैरुपदेशैरशिक्षयन् ॥ ४० ॥

कथमप्यनुगच्छन्तं निवर्त्य स्वजनं पुनः ।
शून्यं विन्ध्यवनोद्देशं जग्मुर्निर्झरिणीतटे ॥ ४१ ॥

तत्रैकस्मिन् समासीनं तरुमूलतले द्विजम् ।
व्रणकर्कशकायं ते ददृशुश्चीरवाससम् ॥ ४२ ॥

उपसृत्य समासीनैरभिनन्दितसत्क्रियैः ।
पृष्टस्तैरयमात्मानं व्याहर्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥ ४३ ॥

अनास्वादितवेदेषु व्याधपिण्डोपजीविषु ।
मातङ्ग इति तन्नामा जातो विप्रकुलेष्वहम् ॥ ४४ ॥

स कदाचिद् धनुष्पाणिर्वने वनचरैः सह ।
चरन् ब्राह्मणमायान्तं वर्षीयांसमलक्षयम् ॥ ४५ ॥

जरत्कर्पटलोभेन प्रतिषिद्धाः प्रसह्य माम् ।
जरापरवशे तस्मिन् प्रजह्रुस्ते जनङ्गमाः ॥ ४६ ॥

तेषां त्रिचतुरान् हत्वा दयया तममोचयम् ।
शेषा मां तिलशः कृत्वा जग्मुस्तेऽपि किरातकाः ॥ ४७ ॥

मृतोऽहं प्रेतभर्तारं दृष्टवान् विष्टरे स्थितम् ।
स मा नित्योग्र! पश्य त्वं नरकानित्यभाषत ॥ ४८ ॥

चित्रगुप्तस्तदाज्ञप्तः पद्मादीन् नरकान् बहून् ।
अदीदृशद् दुष्कृतिभिर्भोक्तव्यान् मा विभागशः ॥ ४९ ॥

seldom attended the lectures of any but the distinguished unless he himself had to be preside at the meeting, but he showed me—his pupil—the honour of his presence at all the five lectures that I delivered in 1931 under the V. Krishnaswami Ayyar Endowment. He showed the same honour to an elder pupil in 1925 when, under the same foundation, he delivered his lectures on "Fictions in the Development of the Hindu Law Texts". He strove hard in the Madras University bodies to get the Oriental Research Institute established. Many of the publications of the Madras University, especially those on the Prabhakara Mīmāṁsā were made under his direction and guidance. The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, which gave ample opportunities for his pupils to express themselves was solely his creation. Thus Prof. Sastriar was greatly responsihle for raising the status of Madras and the Madras University as a centre of Oriental learning and research. No wonder then that in 1934 the eminent Sanskrit Scholar Dr. A. C. Woolner, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, voluntarily suggested that the work of the Revised Catalogus Catalogorum should and could be undertaken only in Madras under his Editorship.

The Goddess of learning does not recognise distinctions of caste and creed, सुरासुरासेवितपादपङ्कजा. Prof. Sastriar taught Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, Thiyya and Christian, man and woman alike. He evenly distributed his help to all his students and regarded them all as members of the same family. If there should be differences it was but understandable ; he knew that in the world members of the same family quarrel most, but they love most as well. Did not every one of them regard oneself at sometime or other, perhaps, the most beloved of the Professor? Why? अहमेव मतो महीपतेरिति सर्वः प्रकृष्वचिन्तयत् ।

He was a champion of the just claims of Indian Philosophy in the University. Once in the Academic Council when the mover of a resolution, to allot to Indian Philosophy 300 marks equal to that of European Philosophy in the Honours scheme of examination, absented himself and the resolution was about to be dropped, Prof. Sastriar moved it in a powerful speech. When the debate appeared to be in favour of the resolution, a high functionary intervened to oppose the resolution, but Prof. Sastriar did not waver and he carried the day. For nearly 15 years, from 1911 to 1926, Sanskrit and the other Indian languages were optional subjects in the

Intermediate and B.A. courses; and only a few students, say about 10 in 100 studied them in the Intermediate and very few in the B.A. It was through the efforts of Prof. Sastriar and another orator that they were made compulsory subjects of study in those courses from 1927. Unfortunately, however, the introduction of the B.Sc. course without a second language nullified a part of the good work done.

He was very resourceful on University affairs. In the early years of the institution of the Titles in the Islamic languages *i.e.*, about 1915 to 1918 there were no candidates appearing for the examination for Afzal-ul-Ulama and other titles. This was perhaps due to the absence of any Arabic College approved for the teaching of the courses in Islamic languages. Colleges could be approved only if there were Title holders as teachers, and candidates for the Title examinations could be had only if there were approved colleges. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim who was the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Arabic and Persian was anxious to get over this fix. In the course of a conversation on this subject, Professor Sastriar suggested to him that Shums-ul-Ulamas may be empowered to certify the fitness of private candidates to appear for the examination in Arabic and Persian. Sir Abdur Rahim, in his joy, embraced Professor Sastriar for the solution, which no doubt was immediately acted upon with beneficent results. At the meetings of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit, from 1916 to 1941, he towered above the other members and though as Chairman he allowed full discussion, he always carried his decision on all the items on the agenda.

Professor Sastriar was a finished speaker in Sanskrit with a measured, clear, deep and ringing voice. In the two conferences of Pandits held at Conjeevaram and Tiruvadi in the years 1911 and 1912 it was largely his speeches and the ability with which he conducted and directed the debates that made even the 'Parishad of Pandits' express an opinion as early as 1911 and 1912 that the Śāstra-tātparya was in favour of post-puberty marriage. It was but fitting that such a 'Vācaspati' presided over the All-India Sanskrit Conference at Calcutta in 1926, and was conferred the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1927. He presided over the sections of the All-India Oriental Conference on many an occasion. When the venerable savant of Indology, Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris was welcomed by the Sanskrit Academy in the Gokhale Hall in 1927, Sir C.P.

Ramaswami Ayyar, 'the flower of culture', delivered a marvellous address teeming with details of Dr. Levi's achievement not known to many in that learned and packed audience. After Dr. Levi's brilliant address, Professor Sastriar, the Permanent President of the Academy, in proposing a vote of thanks in English rose equal to the occasion. He rose to similar heights on another occasion when Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar and the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri both addressed the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College. His reply to the farewell address on his retirement is memorable. It is well known that his presidential speeches at the meetings of the Sanskrit Academy not only arrested the attention and roused the enthusiasm of many elderly men for Sanskrit, but inspired hundreds of young minds to speak and write Sankrit. He made Sanskrit a living language and a live force.

He regarded the Sanskrit Honours course with the affection of a parent for his child and showed it the best part of his attention and care. In 1932 when the 'wave of retrenchment' threatened to drown this child he declined offers of higher administrative posts carrying additional emoluments and stuck to his position; and he threw the whole weight of his personality and influence to save it, on account of which the public of Madras appealed successfully to Government for its retention. Again in 1941 in another University, where he worked after his retirement from Government service, the Sanskrit honours course was abolished soon after he ceased his connection, owing to failing health. Like a Rishi in his retired life at Ganapati Agraharam, he conveyed privately his dissatisfaction and probably the subsequent restoration of the course was prompted by respect for his feeling.

Professor Sastriar's character was marked by a high sense of personal dignity associated with an "Ācārya" and a confidence in the correctness of his judgment, a habit of thoroughness in doing anything that he undertook and never supporting half-measures. In whatever bodies he served he was in the forefront; otherwise he would not associate himself with that body. In his earlier life, Sastriar had before him the ideal of Śrī Vedānta Deśika in a small measure, 'मा च याचिष्म कञ्चन' (Never ask for a favour). He had a rare courage in never compromising his position even in difficulties. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar was his benefactor, and well known for

his proverbial generosity. Sastriar's salary as Principal of the Madras Sanskrit College was small. In the year 1907 his third child—a daughter—suffered from prolonged illness and he had to meet heavy bills. If he had asked Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar for an accommodation or even intimated to him his position, he would have voluntarily offered the needed help. Sastriar would not ask for this small help even of Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar. He quietly pledged the gold belt of his wife in the Mylapore fund and paid the bills. In the administration of the Sanskrit College, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar could not see eye to eye with Sastriar, and there occasionally arose differences between him and the founder. He no doubt had a tenacious and even forceful personality, but the other party had a masterful personality in an incomparable measure and was in addition the paymaster. He would not go to Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar and represent matters unless sent for; and often in such cases through the mediation of Pandit Chandrasekhara Sastrigal, Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar yielded to the wishes of Sastriar. To cite an instance —if to-day the library of the Madras Sanskrit College is one of the best and has even many duplicate copies and many different editions of the principal classics the road was well laid by him in the years 1906 to 1910. The rare subtlety of intellect that he exhibited in the debates in the University bodies was appreciated even more in his early life. He was more attracted by the personality of Sir Sivaswami Ayyar and in cultivating his friendship eagerly paid frequent visits to him. Sir Sivaswami Ayyar who readily assessed every one who went to him and at once put him in his place admitted Sastriar into his inner councils and delighted to discuss with him intricate points of law involving the legal and Mīmāmsā interpretation of the texts; and it may be pardonable to say now that on one occasion by pursuing the arguments suggested by Sastriar the previous day, he won a particular case with a powerful advocate appearing on the opposite side. Sastriar had a feeling that his contribution to the initial success of the Madras Sanskrit College was equal to, if not greater than, the founder's; and Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar understood him and showed him much respect and consideration. As Principal of the new Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi he had to introduce many reforms. The Collector-President of the District Board would not agree to them and Sastriar would not yield his

ground. The then Collector of Tanjore wrote to a respected friend at Madras about him "your friend is intractable." The Chattram Deputy Collector and the personal assistant to the Collector of Tanjore found that in this Principal of the Sanskrit College they had caught a Tartar. In 1911 Mr. Austin, I. C. S., the Collector of Tanjore paid an official visit to the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar, then member of the Executive Council. In his unbounded generosity he informed the Collector "Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri is no ordinary man. We move nearly on equal terms with him." That was more than enough for Mr. Austin to show unusual regard for him and approve all his proposals. The people of Tiruvadi looked on him as demi-god. As Professor of the Presidency College he maintained a dignity and freedom on all academic matters within the ambit of constitutioual propriety. In Octobar 1915 he was nominated a member of the Madras University Senate. At the first meeting which he attended, a resolution was passed which he and a few others considered *ultra vires* of the Senate; and along with a Professor of the Pachayyappa's College he did not hesitate as a nominated member of the Senate, to join in a protest to H. E. the Chancellor bringing to his notice that action might be taken for issue of a writ of mandamus against the University:

"विदितवेद्यस्यापि विभोः सन्निधे यथावसरं कार्यस्यावेदनं भृत्यधर्मः"

The matter was however disposed of by His Excellency at a stroke. According to the old University act of 1904, a resolution of the Senate could be given effect to only if it was 'assented' to by the Chancellor; His Excellency "Recorded" the resolution; and his private secretary sent a reply to the protest —"His Excellency the Chancellor declines to interfere." On another occasion, when a University intended to remove some one from Chairmanship of a Board he made that authority aware that the intended action was *ultra vires* and the intention had to be given up.

As a boy, owing to his rural environment, Sastriar had contracted a weakness for playing cards and using snuff. This really proved a blessing. Do not vanity and aberration induce munificence in many? Only those who had been a victim to this habit of cards and snuff really know how difficult it is to get rid of that habit. With a strong will he kicked out the 'time-killer' before he became Principal of the Sanskrit College, Mylapore. "Sneezing is not manners,

particularly in Society" and so he gave up the habit of snuff when he became Professor of the Presidency College. I have a suspicion that it might be the will-power that he developed in getting rid of this habit that exhibited itself in its utmost form in the last days of his life at Annamalai Nagar. In the difficult days of the students' strike in the Annamalai University Prof. Sastriar was the adviser behind the University executive in all the strong measures taken; and even when the Rt. Hon. Sastriar (faltered and) preferred to resign, with a remarkable loyalty and conviction equalled only by his devotion to teaching, he advocated and was the symbol of absolute firmness—the Brahmadaṇḍa. He told some of us "In saving the prestige of the University during those few days I experienced यातना- the tortures of Hell." His convocation address at Madras in 1935 was perhaps typical of his character. The Hindu then remarked "Unlike the usual addresses it breathed the spirit of true academic freedom". Elders remarked that "It recalled to our minds the memorable convocation address delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar in 1911."

On matters which did not involve a rule, a principle or his sense of personal dignity he was very accommodating and even soft-hearted. This kindness and generous nature he showed in an abundant measure in his private life and also to his official subordinates, especially the less fortunate among them. He would gladly render any help that lay in his power, but his natural sense of self-respect would not let him step beyond prescribed limits.

It is said that his publications were nothing comparable to his massive intellect and unique scholarship. He had delivered University lectures on (1) Theism, (2) Outlines of Indian Philosophy, (3) Indian Epistemology, and (4) Literary Criticism, and a number of Readership Lectures, the K. Krishnaswami Rao Endowment Lectures and Lectures on Philology at Poona. These could all have been written out and published but he had an under-current of feeling that they did not come up to the level or standard that he set up before himself and he did not sit down to write them out. Was it not true that he had to be fully occupied otherwise and that, as he had once told some in the Presidency College, he was doing the work of two men? During his stay at Annamalai Nagar he was actively preparing the materials for his publication on Indian

Epistemology. Even that probably did not fructify. Still many say that like the writings of the Historian Lord Acton, his published papers were very suggestive and of the quality of gold. Perhaps there is no more accurate and lucid presentation of the fundamentals of Indian Logic and Philosophy than his Primer of Indian Logic, and no more authoritative and penetrating study than his introduction to the Brahmasiddhi.

Yea, this in him was the peculiar grace
(Hearten our chorus:)
That before living he'd learn how to live—
No end to learning!
Earn the means first—God surely will contrive
Use for our earning
Others mistrust and say "But time escapes
Live now or never!"
He said "What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes!
Man has For-ever"
"Now, master, take a little rest!"—not he!
Not a whit troubled
Back to his studies, fresher than at first
Fierce as a dragon
He (soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst)
Sucked at the flagon.
Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, Sure
Bad is our bargain!
He ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success
Found, or earth's failure.
"Wilt thou trust death or not?" He answered "Yes".
Hence with life's pale lure!"
That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it;
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred is soon hit
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses an unit.

No one was probably more conscious of what he had left unfinished than he himself. He was saying often that having been a student of a Sannyasin he wished to die a Sannyasin; and

when he was on his sick-bed he advised his son and those nearby not to forget to give him Āpat-Sannyāsa, but at the last moment he changed his mind and refused to take Sannyāsa. What does it indicate? Wisdom and a vision of the future occur to a pure soul in his last moments. He was a firm believer in the immortality of the soul; and like Damayantī who preferred Nala to the Gods, and the performance of Dharma on earth to the pleasures of Heaven, the great 'Ācārya' preferred rebirth and toil for the spread of Sanskrit—his Dharma—to liberation.

I was a sinner in having failed to pay my respects to him in person on his death-bed. I believed that with the grace of Lord Venkateswara he would be spared to us for some more years and that he would surely survive his fond mother. But—!

To conclude, he saved many a classic from oblivion, gave a new life to Sanskrit Studies, moulded, nurtured and directed them for over 35 years; he has brought into existence directly and indirectly a large number of scholars who bear his mark and who are working all over India. They, with the grace of God and the blessing of their Guru, like the "Little Brook" and the banyan tree may flourish and foster for ever thousands of votaries of Sanskrit learning. If the great Āchāryas Śrī Bhattoji Dikshita, Nageśa, Gadādhara, Khaṇḍadeva and Appayya Dīkṣita, have by their writings truly interpreted to us the teachings of the original makers of the Śāstras, Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Sastriar has by his varied work done equal service to Sanskrit and the Śāstrakāras. Sir Sivaswami Ayyar, to whose judgment anyone must bow, has said that Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar was the foremost Sanskrit Scholar of his time in South India. In the sphere of Indian culture the Vindhyas do not count [आसेतु हिमाचलम्] and may I not, in all humility, ask the venerable Knight for a small emendation—to drop the word "South?"

Here's the top-peak; the multitude below
Live, for they can, there;
This man decided not to live but know—
Bury this man there?
Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects;
Loftily lying,

Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying.

पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ।

स्वामिन् कुप्य, व्यवसितमिदं छात्रकृत्यं मया ते
स्वीकारान्मे न खलु वचसो लाघवं द्योतयामि ।
निष्कम्पो वै वितरसि धनं प्रार्थितो बालकेभ्यः
प्रत्युक्तं तु प्रणयिनि हि ते वाञ्छितार्थक्रियैव ॥

एतस्मान्मां सुवचनमनुग्राह्यमाधाय सद्यः
सौहार्दाद्वै विधुर इति वै शङ्करं संप्रधार्य ।
इष्टान् शिष्यान् धनद विनय प्रज्ञया संभृतश्रीः
मा स्यात् लोके कथमपि च ते काव्यताविप्रयोगः ॥

विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धिनमस्कारः—

अभिवादये महामहोपाध्यायराजुशास्त्रि—श्रीसुन्दरशास्त्रि - श्रीसदाशिव-ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती—श्रीनीलकण्ठशास्त्रि—महामहोपाध्यायसेतुरामकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रि-गिरीश—पञ्चार्षेयप्रवरान्वितः गरीशगोत्रोद्भवः श्रीराम-कृष्ण-पद्मनाभशास्त्रि-सूत्रः संस्कृतशाखाध्यायी अघमर्ण—अनन्तनारायण—शङ्करशर्मा नामाहमस्मि भोः ।

—A. SANKARAN.
10-10-43.

SRI T. R. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI :—

Presiding at the Carama-sloka meeting the other day, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri observed above our late Professor, "he was a wonderful man." To us, his disciples, he was far more than wonderful. In the words of the poet, he was

अधृष्यश्चाभिगम्यश्च यादोरत्नैरिवार्णवः ।

His parental love and sincere affection towards his disciples endeared us to him, and his massive personality and rigorous discipline were awe-inspiring. This was, indeed, a unique feature of the Sanskrit Department of the Presidency College in his days, which kept us reminded of the Gurukulas of old.

Sanskrit learning and its seeker were alike dear to him. This ardent desire for the acquisition and propagation of this learning was so great that his devotion to this selfless task knew no bounds. Time was endless to him and he could never set any limitation to his activity. In or out of the College

he would scarcely permit the rigours of time-limits to interfere with his work, lectures or discussions.

He was single-minded in his devotion to his work. The thoroughness he brought to bear on everything that he did and his method of careful examination and revision of his work have left a lasting impression on us. Endowed with a great intellect, untiring energy and resolute will, and blessed with great teachers, he had become a true master of the Sastras early in life, which was probably more due to the circumstance.

He was selfless in his work and attached supreme importance to intellectual honesty. A shrewd judge, he could easily discern his students' difficulties and direct his teaching to the maximum benefit of all of them. His method of exposition was inimitable. The pleasure in listening to his lectures was so intense that at the end, we could not help feeling that it might continue ceaselessly.

His standards were high and his ideals great. When he was felicitated on the conferment of the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya he felf that it was a reminder to him to rise to the level of previous Mahamahopdhyayas, such as Udayanācārya, Gadādhara Bhatta and Brahmasri Raju Sastrigal of Mannargudi. He would not think of any standard less than the loftiest. Is not the departure of this master-mind from us the greatest misfortune that could befall Sanskrit learning? But he has left us a great heritage to foster. We will always cherish our associations with him in reverential memory and continue our task in the path he has shown us. His spirit, with all its greatness, will undoubtedly guide us.

PROF. V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, Head of the Sanskrit Dept., Travancore University, Trivandrum :—

In the demise of M. M. Vidyāvacāspati Darśanakalānidi Kulapati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the world of Sanskrit, scholarship has sustained irreparable loss of a versatile scholar, an eminent Pandit and a great educationalist. In the galaxy of first-rate Sanskrit scholars in India who have combined in themselves the deep traditional erudition of the East and the scientific critical acumen of the West M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was one of the highest magnitude. As the Principal of the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore and Raja's Sanskrit College, Tiruviar, he created for himself golden opportunities to teach highly difficult and

original texts in all Śāstras and thus not only made himself an *'advitīya-catuśśāstra-paṇḍita'* but successfully produced many eminent scholars some of whom are now Mahāmahopādhyāyas even. As the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparitive Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he proved by his own example what an ideal teacher and preceptor should be. As an active, fearless and enthusiastic member of the important bodies of the Madras University and as an undaunted and true champion of Sanskrit culture and learning, he gave a new orientation to the higher studies of Sanskrit—in the arts and oriental sections—of the Madras University, which have been subsequently adapted with advantage by other sister Universities in South India. His memorable contribuion to the higher studies in Sanskrit lies in his bold venture to prescribe and teach many difficult and original works and commentaries in all important śāstras, many of which would have sunk into oblivion but for his strong and fearless advocacy.

Day in and day out he fought for many years for the cause of Sanskrit and achieved, in the teeth of strong opposition, the creation and successful working of the Oriental Research Institute on most modern lines, on a par with the science Departments, in the Madras University. Integrity, efficiency and thoroughness were his watchwords in every line of activity.

As the Hon. Curator of the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, he did signal service to Sanskrit by securing rare and valuable Mss. from all over India and by publishing several volumes of descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library. His critical edition of Adhvaramīmāṁsākutūhalavṛtti, his Primer of Indian Logic, his scholarly and suggestive introductions to Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya and other works, and above all his highly erudite and thought-provoking introduction to his critical edition of Maṇḍanamiśra's Brahmasiddhi—all are works of his ripe knowledge and mature judgment. The starting and successful working of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, a periodical admittedly reputed for original research and scientific investigation, is his monumental accomplishment. As Hon. Professor at Annamali University, he had a definite plan to write two volumes on Indian epistemology and translate into English the text of Brahmasiddhi; but owing to ill-health and

other causes he was not able to complete them. If he were spared for some more years, he would have continued to be a source of inspiration and guidance, and a tower of strength for all Sanskritists in South India.

MRS. DEVAKI MENON, M.A., Sanskrit Lecturer, Queen Mary's College, Madras :—

A man of mighty intellect, profound erudition, noble bearing and a unique kindliness of spirit—that is how our late revered Professor had always impressed me.

Only a few of us women-students have had the supreme good fortune of studying at the feet of the great teacher.

In those days (*i.e.*, about the year 1925) there never used to be more than one or two women-students at a time in the whole Sanskrit Department. The Professor appreciated our difficulties and he used to allow us to remain in his own office-room whenever we had to wait for a lecture, so that we were often spared the troublesome ordeal of going upstairs to the women's waiting room at the end of each lecture, or standing about in the corridor awaiting the arrival of a lecturer.

The Professor used to take an extra evening class for the Fifth Hons. students. But, however busy he was after the class (Friends and research students usually visited him at that time), he never failed to enquire if we had a conveyance to take us back to the Queen Mary's College hostel; if, as it sometimes happened, we had none, he invariably offered us his own coach to get back to the hostel. Of course such kindly treatment from our Professor was the envy and despair of our less fortunate friends in the hostel.

We always eagerly looked forward to the Professor's lectures and we were never disappointed. It was always with a sense of surprise that we realised after a more than ordinarily interesting dissertation that the class had run on to more than fifteen minutes after the end of the hour. He had a unique power in elucidating the most abstruse subject; the perspicuity of his keen and masterful intellect was matched by the perspecuity of his lucid exposition. His lectures never fatigued us; instead of clogging our brains, they used to make us feel mentally refreshed and exhilarated by his thought-provoking remarks. One revealing fact is that the Professor's

method was never that of coaching for an examination; hence whatever he taught us, has remained with us, a gift from him for life, to be lovingly cherished for ever more.

Even after we ceased to be his students in the College, the Professor evinced the same interest in our studies and helped us and encouraged us with great earnestness.

But, more than anything else, whenever we met with reverses in life, that benevolent and fatherly soul was never slow in raising our wearied and broken spirits by his sympathy and earnest solicitude.

A 'master' of his type is rarely met with in this work-a-day world. He is, by his great qualities, one fit to take his niche beside the ancient sages who lived for the good of the world.

SRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L. :—

A Dispassionate President.

To describe the greater one must be great: that is the inviolable standard for anything like a correct estimate or genuine appreciation of outstanding personages.

I cannot, therefore, presume to speak of either the scholarship or the ability of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya as a teacher. For I was never privileged to be his disciple or even to near him in any other capacity for intellectual intercourse. If I had a glimpse of anything attractive in him, anything that can be deemed precious in human personality, it was the unusual kindness of an elder towards an younger, especially of the type which partakes of parental affection.

The activities of the Madras Samskrta Academy, more than any other circumstance, brought us together, he as its President and I as one of the Joint Secretaries of that body. I felt in him, whenever he was in the chair at its deliberations, the most indulgent and attentive of men to the opinions expressed by the younger section in a group mainly composed of Sanskritists and conservative-minded elders. I knew of no occasion when he let down any member holding his own views in matters that were not altogether free from severe criticisms of one another.

When, once, a member of the Executive Committee of that body proposed the participation of the Academy in the public

celebrations of a renowned Tamil Scholar's birthday, by reading an address in Sanskrit and presenting a casket, certain sticklers took the objection that without any the least service by that person to the cause of Sanskrit, no such honouring by the Academy officially was proper. According to them, then every other scholar in the other languages of India or of the world even, should receive similar congratulations from the Academy on similar occasions. The President made it clear at once to the rest assembled there, the extreme impropriety involved in a division of opinion over the question of honouring a great Tamil scholar, whose prestige and influence in the world of letters was a matter of personal satisfaction and pride to everybody born in the Tamil land. Further he mentioned the justification for the Academy's share in such a function, on account of the absolutely simple reason, that as a recult of the researches in the fields of Tamil and Sanskrit, benefits accrued mutually to the scholars working in both, and that judged by that standard even some remote help received would make the Samskrta Academy recognise merit publicly in a scholar with a vast erudition in his own language. He thus prevailed upon the opposers to the proposition, cut short the discussion, pacified the offended proposer and succeeded in recording a resolution for the Academy's part in the forthcoming function. Needless for me to add that the Mahāmahopādyāya read at the meeting the Sanskrit address, which he himself had drafted. This gave signal proof of his matchless sense of proprieties and inherent culture, not to speak of his innate nobility of character.

Others there are who can speak to the sterling worth of the man's independence and unshakeable devotion to causes and individuals he espoused. His hospitality and familiarity with younger friends partook of more than a passing interest in affairs outside his scholarship. It can be said of him, therefore, as it was said of another, that 'occupied chiefly with his pupils, he nevertheless devoted much of his energy to wider interests'.

SRI Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI, M.A., B.L. :—

Professor and a Pandita.

Speaking in Sanskrit one evening in a meeting of the Sanskrit Academy at the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar, distinguished the term 'Pandita' from 'Pandit' which in usage had acquired an unpleasant

significance, and said that he would rather pray to God that he should be born over and over again as a "Pandita" in "Bharata Varṣa" than that he should attain salvation. Such was his taste for Sastraic knowledge. He was an ardent student of the Sastras from his earliest days. While he was studying in the B.A. Class in St. Peter's College at Tanjore he ran to his village every week-end to study the Sastras under the Pazhavaneri Swamigal who was making his stay there. In the Public Examination he answered only one question fully in a three hours Sanskrit Paper and that in a very recondite sastraic style. The examiner Mr. Seshagiri Sastri, who was a liberal minded scholar became curious to get acquainted with "the pandit" as he called the candidate who showed so surprising an erudition and gave him pass marks. All through his life the Professor showed the same thoroughness and love of plumbing the depths of erudition combined with the same disregard of other limitations and restrictions. In the discharge of his high academic duties and in the fulfilment of his gratuitous undertakings he indulged in a scholarly gusto devising broad-based plans and doing a lot of preliminary reconnaissance while time chased him relentlessly. It was not by any flashy display that he achieved his reputation among his compeers, but by his sound, accurate deep and extensive scholarship slowly and steadily built up during his early studentship under the Swamigal and consolidated during the several years of his Principalship of the Sanskrit Colleges at Mylapore and Trivadi. When he entered the Presidency College, the ordering of the Honours Course lay in his hands and it is no wonder that, with his partiality for "Panditya" he made it as comprehensive as possible. The Curatorship of the Government Manuscripts Library afforded him immense facilities for widening his learning and quickening his learning and research instincts. Knowledge, position, power, fame and emoluments—all increased apace. He was the first and the last Sanskrit Professor to be taken into the I.E.S. Grade. He felt the dignity of it all and guarded his official privileges with dogged intrepidity. He dominated the Sanskrit field like a Colossus. While in an intimate mood, he used to say that his luck was rather unique and he recalled in an amused manner how very innocently he had pursued knowledge during his early life for its own sake and how the rewards which it brought him were never even dreamt of by

him. Posterity might well wonder that a massive Sanskrit scholar of his type was ever so prosperous in his professional career, wielding so unqualified a power and influence within his field. The thing is not going to happen again.

Soon after his retirement one pleasant evening he told me in rapt attention to a review of his life in the academic field. He declared that he had led a *Kṣatriya* life all through and enlarged upon appropriate anecdotes. Men with scholarly tendencies usually prove ineffectual in life. But our Professor was as full of schemes as a Statesman and as determined as a Field Marshal. He was invaluable as a friend and implacable as a foe. He was a stout fighter within the Senate Hall. As the appointed guardian of not a very robust limb of the University he had to assert himself often in the interests of the efficiency and dignity of his department. Even in discussions external to his departmental interests, his was a puissant voice as he commanded the respect of his colleagues, by the thoroughness of his preparation, the justice and soundness of his contentions and his clear and logical exposition.

The Professor had a telling way of saying things, though he was a slow speaker. His expression was deliberate and orderly. Never a word escaped his mouth which was not carefully weighed and passed. He was so level-headed that everything was safe with him even in an excited atmosphere. He had some caustic wit. But he never rubbed anybody on the wrong-side. Charged with well digested and carefully indexed thought he stood up to speak. He was never carried away on the wings of imagination, or over the flood of eloquence. His manner was serene and steady, and having always something very smart to say, he commanded the attention of the audience. He made speeches in Sanskrit during the meetings of the Sanskrit Academy. He had perfected that out so well that he held even his lay listener under the spell of sonorous articulation and round phraseology.

The Professor when he liked anyone enveloped the happy object of his affection with "*Vatsalya*". In regard to his dislikes the professor hedged himself with great caution and decorum. Generous and polite as he was by nature, he scarcely ever let his antipathies carry him off his balance; and though he could not forget, he could forgive in a proper case.

After his settling at Ganapati Agraharam, I should think that his heart experienced a spiritual blossoming. He recited to me on one occasion stanza after stanza of the *Ātmārpaṇa Stuti* of Sri Appaya Dikshita with the rapturous feeling of a certain kind of unison with the yearning of that great soul.

SRI P. S. VISWANATHA AYYAR, M.A., I.C.S. :—

The Hero as Scholar

आत्मना विन्दते वीर्यं विद्यया विन्दतेऽमृतम् ।

Bharadvāja, says the Kāṭhaka, devoted to Brahmacarya full three ordinary spans of human life; and to him, lying spent and emaciated on his death-bed came Indra, and offered him a fourth lease of life, and asked him how he would like to employ it. Said the Sage promptly "Again shall I take up my quest for knowledge."

The undaunted spirit of Bharadvāja has flamed in generations of scholars in this country. Our late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya comes in that true apostolic succession.

He was indeed a Kulapati in all senses of the term. The number of students and scholars who have sat at his feet is legion. I cannot, unfortunately, claim direct discipleship, though I was at the Presidency College for five years while he was adorning the chair of Sanskrit in that institution. But I have a treasured memory of a whole week spent with him at Ganapatti Agraharam in January, 1941. I had gone there on tour, and at his kind invitation, I enjoyed his hospitality, a veritable feast of reason and a flow of soul.

I had not seen him for 14 years. When I got out of the car in front of his house, a gaunt. haggard figure came out to greet me, in whom, but for the piercing hawklike face, I would have found it difficult to recognize the Professor whom I had seen at College, in the fullness of health and vigour. The analogy with Bharadvāja was most unhappily complete.

Those days have been branded into my brain by his burning intellect. His exile in that sleepy village, which, having exported all its other great men, was at that time living up to the adage about the prophet and his birth place, had reduced him to such a state of intellectual starvation, as to make him more than eager to overlook my obvious limitations as a Sahṛdaya and to lavish on me the hoarded

treasures of his mind. I can't pretend that I made any notable contribution to the dialogue. I felt rather like Dhṛtarāṣṭra after he had put to Sanjaya the question

मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सञ्जय ।

His beloved disciple Sri T. R. Chintamani who came on a visit during that period warned me against allowing him to overstrain himself. I tried hard, much against my own selfish inclinations, to prevent him from exerting himself unduly, but he, whom hundreds had listened to with rapture, would not be baulked of his pitifully inadequate audience.

What adequate Gurudakṣiṇā can I give him for that week of happiness? The only thing I can do and which I am sure will please his spirit most, is to dedicate myself to the serious study of Sanskrit, and to try and persuade others to share that pleasure.

Persons more competent than myself will no doubt speak of his vast erudition, his versatility, his clarity of exposition, his happy synthesis of traditional learning and modern methods of research, and the quality of his great contributions to Sanskrit scholarship. I hope to be forgiven for confining myself to these rather Boswellian recollections of my contact with him.

I fancy that he has left us in no mood of disgust with the world, but rather in the spirit of 'Nachiketas' asking himself the question "किँस्विद्यमस्य कर्तव्यं यन्मयाद्य करिष्यति ।" In the slokas below, I have followed up that conceit, and on that note I shall end my tribute.

वैश्वानरः प्रविष्टः किमतिथिर्मद्गृहानिति ।
मा भैषीर्धर्मराज त्वं पावकोऽसौ न दाहकः ॥
धर्मशालामिव त्यक्त्वा त्वद्गेहं विगतश्रमः ।
यास्यति ब्रह्मयात्रायां मार्गदर्शयसि केवलम् ॥

Condolence Meetings and Resolutions

The following Institutions and Associations held special meetings and passed condolence resolutions touching the demise of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri:—

1. *The Samskrita Academy, Madras*, at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, with the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the chair. Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Sir S. Varadachariar, Sri V. V.

Srinivasa Iyengar, Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Prof. D. S. Sarma, Paṇḍitarāja T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, D. Ramalinga Reddi and others spoke. (14th Sep., 1943.)

2. *A Public Memorial Meeting* at the Senate House, University of Madras. Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, presided. Sri G. A. Natesan, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Janab Basheer Ahmad Sayed, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Principal J. D'Souza and others spoke. (30th Oct., 1943.)

3. *The Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore,* with Paṇḍitarāja T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Principal, in the chair. (9th Sept., 1943.)

4. *The Rajah's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies, Tiruvadi,* and *The Vidyā Vikāsinī Sabhā* of the same College. (17th Sept., 1943.)

5. *The Central High School, Tiruvadi* and its *Old Boys' Association* (13th and 20th Sep., 1943) (Young Kuppuswami was a student of this school).

6. *Public Meeting* of the citizens of *Ganapati Agraharam* village and of the students and staff of the local school, with the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri in the chair. (19th Sep., 1943.)

7. *The P. S. High School Masters' Association, Mylapore, Madras.* (9th Sept., 1943.)

8. *The Presidency College, Madras,* Staff meeting, with the Principal, Dr. B. B. Dey, in the chair. (16th Sept., 1943.)

9. *The Presidency College Sanskrit Association,* with Prof. P. P. S. Sastri in the chair. (11th Dec., 1943).

10. *The Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library,* Camp Tirupati, Staff meeting with curator, Dr. A. Sankaran in the chair. (7th Sept., 1943.)

11. *The Advaita Sabhā,* Kumbhakonam, at the Śaṅkarācārya Mutt, in the presence of Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri and others. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer and others spoke. (21st Sept., 1943.)

12. *The Annamalai University, Staff and students meeting.*

13. *The Annamalai University Sanskrit Language and Literature Society,* A. Nagar, Chidambaram. (9th Sep., 1943).

14. *The Madras Christian College Sanskrit Association, Tambaram*, with Sri U. Venkatakrishna Rao in the chair. (26th Sept., 1943.)

15. *The Vāṇī Vilās (Press) Syndicate, Srirangam*, (T. K. Balasubramanya Iyer mentioned that Prof. Sastri's precious advice was of great help in the editing of the Memorial edn. of Sankara's Works). (12th Sept., 1943.)

16. *Public Meeting* of citizens of *Kumbhakonam*, at Sri Sarngapanisvami Temple. (9th Sep., 1943.)

17. *Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer High School, Tirukkattupali, Teachers' Association*. (7th Sept., 1943.)

18. *Sri Rājāṅga Kailāsa Śāstra Pāṭhaśālā*, Agara Mangudi, Tanjore Dt., with Dharmarakshmani T. L. Subbier in the chair. (22nd Sept., 1943.)

19. *The Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram, Prācya Vidyā Pāriṣad*, with Mm. Tata Subbaraya Sastri in the chair. (10th Sept., 1943.)

20. *The National High School, Mannargudi*, Tanjore Dt., Staff and Students' Meeting. (12th Sept., 1943.)

21. *The All-India Varnasrama Svarajya Sangh, Madura*. (7th Sept., 1943.)

22. *The Board High School, Wandiwash*, Teachers' meeting. (25th Sept., 1943.)

23. *The P. R. College Sanskrit Association, Cocanada*, with Sri E. V. V. Raghavachariar in the chair. (27th Oct., 1943.)

24. *The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*. (Communicated by Dr. R. N. Dandekar). (18th Sept., 1943.)

25. *The U. P. Historical Research Society, Lucknow* (Sri Prayag Dayal). (17th Sept., 1943.)

26. *The International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore* (Dr. Raghu Vira—25th Sept., 1943.)

27. *The Sanskrit College, Calcutta* (Dr. A. Banerji Sastri—24th Sept., 1943.)

28. *The Samskrita Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta* (Sri Amareshwar Thakur—15th Sept., 1943.)

"The Pariṣat recalls with pride the high honour conferred on it by the deceased scholar by presiding over the deliberations of its tenth annual general meeting in the year 1926."

29. *The Allahabad University Oriental Society, Allahabad*, with Prof. P. K. Acharya in the chair. (17th Sep., 1943.)

30. *The Benares Hindu University Court.*

"That the Court of the Benares Hindu University places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the University by the passing away of Prof. Kuppuswami, M.A., of Madras who was an eminent Samskrit Scholar, and a member of the Court for several years." (13th Jan., 1944.)

31. *The Pañcanada Sarasvatī Samāja* and *The Visveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore*, with Prof. Vishvabandhu Sastri in the chair. Prof. Charudeva Shastri and others spoke. (4th Nov., 1943.)

32. *The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta* (Sri K. Nag, Gen. Secretary—30th Sept, 1943.)

"The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal expresses its sense of great loss and its profound sorrow at the passing away of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri of Madras. Prof. Sastri's life was dedicated to the conservation and dissemination of Sanskrit culture of India, and he achieved distinction both as a profound scholar and as an inspiring teacher. Through his publications and his participation in learned congresses and conferences he came in touch with a wider public both in India and abroad, and scholars and workers everywhere recognised in Kuppuswami Sastri of Madras one of the foremost Sanskritists of present day India. Although the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was not privileged to have him as one of its members, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's name has been always held in high esteem by us, and many of our individual members formed close personal contacts with him. The Society pays its sincere tribute of respect to his memory as to that of one who was an acknowledged master in the domain of Indology as expressed in the language and literature of ancient India, and was thus a fellow-worker in the same domain in which the Society started its work nearly 160 years ago; and it trusts that through the united efforts of scholars in India and outside it will be possible to honour in a suitable way the memory of so great a scholar, so great an Indian and so great a man."

Panditarāja D. T. TATACHARYA Siromani :—

आर्यगुणाध्यायः

प्रत्यक्षमस्ति तदुपाश्रयमस्ति लैङ्गं विज्ञानमागमसमुत्थितमन्यदस्ति ।
यस्यैवमप्यभिविभावयितुं प्रभावं नैवेश्महे जयति कोऽपि स पूरुषो नः ॥

(सद्वितीयः प्रविश्य)

भट्टः—अये, अश्रौषीद् भवान् गीतं पद्यम् ।

सुब्बः—आम अश्रौषम् । संस्कृतसेवाश्रमे तत्प्रतिष्ठापनसुकृतकारिणो महामहोपाध्यायस्य आर्यकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणः अचिरात् कीर्तिशेषतां गतस्य गुणविशेषानुसन्धानेन आत्मानं कृतार्थयितुमुद्युक्तस्तदन्तेवासिवर्गः तत्र प्रतिपत्तिविशेषशाली महाजनश्च अद्य सम्मेलिष्यतीत्यवोचन् । मन्ये तदुपक्रमे गीत भगवद्वन्दनपद्यमेतत् ।

भट्टः—तथा नु । सुचिरमपि जीवित्वा महद्भिरपि अन्ते मर्तव्यं मर्त्यैः सद्भिः । किं क्रियताम् । नास्या गतेः परिहारौपयिकं किञ्चिदस्ति । इदं तु मे अस्मिन् नामधेये श्रुते जिज्ञासितं भवति । एतत्प्रदेशाभिजनो भवान् यदि जानाति तर्हि ब्रवीतु—एतन्नाम्नि प्रथमो भागः का भाषा तदभिधेयं वा किमिति ।

सुब्बः—आर्य श्रूयताम्—

जातो जातः पुत्रो जायापत्योर्ययोः कृतान्तेन ।
नीयेत तौ ततः परमुदिते सूनावनादृतो मृत्युः ॥
स्यादित्यवकरवाचि द्रविडपदं तस्य नाम कुर्वाते ।
तदिदं किञ्चिद्विकृतं कुप्पिति रूपं समाश्रयति ॥

भट्टः—तर्हि यस्यैवं नामधेयं तस्य तदेव आजन्मवैशिष्ट्यं किमप्यावेदयति । यतः—

आराध्य दैवमभिवन्द्य चिरं वरिष्ठान्
विध्वस्य दुष्कृतमलानि चिरन्तनानि ।
पुण्योच्चये परिपचेलिमतामुपेते
तादृग्विधं तनुभुवं पितरौ लभेते ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

जयन्ति जगदानन्दसन्दायिगुणनिर्भराः ।
स्वतन्त्राः सर्वतन्त्रेषु श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणः ॥

भट्ट:—आर्य, उपक्रान्तमिव सम्मेलनस्य कार्यम् । यदि भवता तत्र सान्निधेयं तर्हि गन्तव्यम् । अस्मत्कार्यं श्वः पश्येम ।

सुब्ब:—तथा भवतु । (निष्क्रान्तौ)

(ततः प्रविशन्ति समाजभावनयोपविष्टा बहवः । तिष्ठन् समाजाध्यक्षश्च)

अध्यक्ष:—मान्याः, मनीषिणः, सुहृदः, अद्य मया पठितोऽयं 'जयन्ति जगदानन्द' इत्यादिः श्लोकः उपत्रिंशेभ्यो वर्षेभ्यः पूर्वं, तञ्जापूरान्तर्गतश्रीमत्पञ्चनदक्षेत्रालङ्कारभूतायां संस्कृतमहाकलाशालायां विद्यार्थिभावे स्थितेन विरचय्य, तदध्यक्षपदात् राजधानीमहाकलाशालासंस्कृताचार्यपदमभ्युपेत्य एतस्मिन् महापुरुषे प्रतिष्ठमाने समर्पितस्य उपचारपत्रस्य प्रारम्भे निवेशितः । जानन्ति भवन्तः गुणो विद्येति द्वाभ्यामाभ्यां लोके पुरुषाणां वैशिष्ट्यं भवति । तदुभयसमृद्धिमस्मिन् अयं श्लोकः प्रतिपादयति । तस्य यथावद्ग्रहणं तद्विद्यासन्ततिप्रविष्टानां गाढदीर्घपरिचयवतामस्मादृशां यथा सुकरं न तथा इतरेषामिति मे मतिः । तदहमभ्यर्थये परिमितेऽस्मिन् सम्मेलनकाले अत्रभवत्सु कतिपये स्वस्वानुभवविशेषगोचरीभूतान् अस्य अस्मदार्यस्य गुणान् अनतिविस्तरं परिकीर्तयन्तु, अपरे श्रवणसुखमनुभवन्त्विति ।

अच्युत:—अभिज्ञाः, आदौ तदीयं रूपमेवाधिकृत्य किञ्चिदहं वक्ष्यामि ।

सोच्छ्रायं मसृणारुणं मृदु वपुर्विस्तारि फालस्थलं
नेत्रे दीर्घविशालभावरुचिरे नासोन्नमत्तोल्बणा ।
व्याहारो विशदोर्जितो भुजयुगं प्रालम्बमस्मद्गुरोः
स्वच्छाच्छादनमाविरस्ति पुरतस्तद्रूपमद्यापि नः ॥

अनन्त:—प्रज्ञाविशेषाधीनस्य पाण्डित्यस्य इदं तावल्लक्षण यदुत—

समानं रासिक्यं बहुलविपुले शास्त्रनिचये दृढग्रन्थग्रन्थिग्रहविदलने भीतिविरहः ।
अकोपः प्रष्टृन् प्रत्यपि तु परमप्रीतिकरणं यथातृप्ति प्रष्टुः प्रतिवचनदानप्रवणता ।
सर्वं तदेतदिह सङ्गतमार्यवर्ये यत्तन्निजानुभववैभवनिश्चितं वः ।
एवं सति प्रबलपण्डितराजगोष्ठीसिंहासनाक्रमणमर्हति कः स्थितेऽस्मिन् ॥

गोविन्द:—आम्नायेषु तदङ्गषट्कविततौ धर्मे पुराणोच्चये
कर्मब्रह्मविमार्शितन्त्रयुगले वैशेषिकन्याययोः ।
साङ्ख्ये योगनये रसप्रसरणप्रद्योतिकाव्यक्रमे
तल्लक्ष्मप्रतिमर्शवर्त्मनि कलामालासु बौद्धोक्तिषु ॥

भाषाशास्त्रनिबन्धनेषु सततं गच्छत्सु वृद्धिं परां
नानामार्गविदेशभाषितमयग्रन्थानुबन्धे तथा ।
भेजे तत्तदभिज्ञनन्दितगुणं वैदुष्यमार्यो वरान्
आन्नायांनुपसद्य नैजधिषणाशक्तिप्रकर्षेण च ॥

केशवः—सारं वा लिख्यते किञ्चिन्न वा किञ्चन लिख्यते ।
लिख्यते च न सारं चेत्येतदार्यो न मृष्यति ॥

नारायणः—विद्यासु रासिक्यमथो तदर्हप्रवृत्तिकारित्वमिति द्वयं यत् ।
तदेतदार्येऽत्र भवत् समग्रं फलद्वयं नः फलति स्म साधु ॥

यदयमभिनन्द्यकर्मा संस्कृतसेवाश्रमो जयति ।
यच्च प्रचरति पत्री पौरस्त्यकलाविमर्शनप्रसिता ॥

माधवः—इदमप्यत्र वक्तव्यम्—

ये तावदत्र सम्प्रति संस्कृतसम्बन्धिपदाविशेषजुषः ।
तेषु हि कतिचन साक्षात् तदनुगृहीताः परे परम्परया ॥

तथा चेदानीं संस्कृतविद्यासम्प्रदायधुरन्धरता एतच्छिष्यप्राशिष्यपरम्परायां विश्राम्यति ।

अध्यक्षः—हन्त भोः, सङ्केतमिव कृत्वा भाषितवद्भिः एतैः, महाकविना दिलीपं प्रति यदुक्तम्—

आकारसदृशप्रज्ञः प्रज्ञया सदृशागमः ।
आगमैः सदृशारम्भ आरम्भसदृशोदयः ॥

इति, तदस्मिन् आर्येऽपि समन्वितं कृतम् । इदमिदानीं वक्तुमवशिष्टं मे भाति-यद्विविधविषयविमर्शोत्साहबीजनिधानकुम्भोऽयमार्यवर्य इति । तथा हि—

भानावभ्युदिते प्रबोधमयते सर्वोऽपि लोको यथा
सिद्धे सन्निहिते निजं विजहति द्वेषं यथा प्राणिनः ।
एवं सन्निधिमस्य संश्रयति यो नानार्थमीमांसने
सद्यः स प्रतिपद्यते ननु दशामुत्साहधारोद्धुराम् ॥

मान्याः, एवंविधगुणगणविभूषणस्यार्यस्य स्मरणाविच्छेदाय भगवन्तमद्य प्रार्थयेमहि । (सर्वे उत्थिता अञ्जलिं बध्नन्ति)

मधुसूदनः—कुलरूपशीलविनयैर्गुरुणा गुरुणा विमुक्तमखिलेश यथा ।
हृदयं कदापि न भविष्यति नः करुणां कुरुष्व कमलाक्ष तथा ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

श्रीशैलस्तातार्यः शिरोमणिः प्राच्यविद्येशः ।
आर्यानुग्रहसुग्रहतन्त्रार्थो व्याधित तद्गुणस्मरणम् ॥

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory.......... A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—......This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

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"Hindu," 9th Feburary, 1927.—............The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

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